

CHRISTIAN LITERATURE.

VOL. XVI.

: DECEMBER, 1896.

No. 2.

AUGUSTINE AND THE PELAGIAN CONTROVERSY.

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X.

The Treatise "On Rebuke and Grace."

THE one request that Augustine made, on sending the treatise *On Grace and Free-Will* to Valentinus, was that the monk Florus, through whom the controversy had arisen, should be sent to him. He wished to converse with him and learn whether he had been misunderstood, or had himself misunderstood Augustine. In due time Florus arrived at Hippo, bringing a letter¹ from Valentinus which thanked Augustine for his "sweet" and "healing" instruction, and introduced Florus as one whose true faith could be confided in. It is very clear, both from Valentinus' letter and from the hints that Augustine gives, that his loving dealing with the monks had borne admirable fruit: "none were cast down for the worse, some were built up for the better."² But it was reported to him that some one at the monastery had objected, to the doctrine he had taught them, that "no man, then, ought to be rebuked for not keeping God's commandments; but only God should be besought that he might keep them."³ In other words, it was said that if all good was, in the last resort, from God's grace, man ought not to be

¹ *Epistle* 216.

² *On Rebuke and Grace*, 1.

³ *Retractions*, ii. 67. Compare *On Rebuke and Grace*, 5 sq.

blamed for not doing what he could not do, but God ought to be besought to do for man what He alone could do: we ought, in short, to apply to the source of power. This occasioned the composition of yet another treatise, that entitled *On Rebuke and Grace*,¹ the object of which was to explain the relations of grace to human conduct, and especially to make it plain that the sovereignty of God's grace does not supersede our duty to ourselves or to our fellow-men.

The treatise begins by thanking Valentinus for his letter and for sending Florus (whom Augustine finds well instructed in the truth), praising God for the good effect of the previous book, and recommending its continued study. This is followed by a brief exposition of the catholic faith concerning grace, free-will and the law (1-2). The general proposition that is defended is that the gratuitous sovereignty of God's grace does not supersede human means for obtaining and continuing it (3 sq.). This is shown by the apostle's example, who used all human means for the prosecution of his work and yet confessed that it was "God that gave the increase" (3). Objections are then answered (4 sq.),—especially the great one that "it is not my fault if I do not do what I have not received grace for doing" (6). To this Augustine replies (7-10) that we deserve rebuke for our very unwillingness to be rebuked, that on the same reasoning the prescription of the law and the preaching of the gospel would be useless, that the apostle's example opposes such a position, and that our consciousness witnesses that we deserve rebuke for not persevering in the right way. From this point an important discussion arises, in this interest, of the gift of perseverance (11-19) and of God's election (20-24). It is taught that no one is saved who does not persevere, and that all who are predestinated or "called according to God's purpose" (Augustine's phrase for what we should name "effectually called")

¹ On the importance of this treatise for Augustine's doctrine of predestination, see WIGGERS' *Augustinianism and Pelagianism*, E. T. p. 236, where a sketch of the history of this doctrine in Augustine's writings may be found.

will persevere, and yet that we co-operate by our will in all good deeds and deserve rebuke if we do not. Whether Adam received the gift of perseverance, and, in general, what the difference is between the grace given to him (which was that grace by which he was able to stand) and that now given to God's children (which is that grace by which we are made actually to stand), are next discussed (26-38), with the result of showing the superior greatness of the gifts of grace now to those given before the fall. The necessity of God's mercy at all times and our constant dependence on it, are next vigorously asserted (39-42): even in the day of judgment, it is declared, if we are not judged "with mercy" we cannot be saved (41). The treatise is brought to an end by a concluding application of the whole discussion to the special matter in hand, *rebuke* (43-49). Seeing that rebuke is one of God's means of working out his gracious purposes, it cannot be inconsistent with the sovereignty of that grace; for, of course, God predestinates the means with the end (43). Nor can we know, in our ignorance, whether our rebuke is, in any particular case, to be the means of amendment or the ground of greater condemnation. How dare we, then, withhold it? Let it be, however, graduated to the fault, and let us always remember its purpose (46-48). Above all, let us not venture to hold it back, lest we withhold from our brother the means of his recovery, and, as well, disobey the command of God (49).

The Letter to Vitalis.

It was not long afterwards (about 427) that Augustine was called upon to attempt to reclaim an erring Carthaginian friend, Vitalis by name, who had been brought to trial on the charge of teaching that the beginning of faith was not the gift of God but the act of man's own free will (*ex propria voluntatis*). This was essentially the semi-Pelagian position which was subsequently to make so large a figure in history; and Augustine treats it now as necessarily implying the basal idea of Pelagianism.

In the important letter which he sent to Vitalis,¹ Augustine first argues that his position is inconsistent with the prayers of the church. He, Augustine, prays that Vitalis may come to the true faith; but does not this prayer ascribe the origination of right faith to God? The Church so prays for all men. The priest at the altar exhorts the people to pray God for unbelievers, that He may convert them to the faith; for catechumens, that He may breathe into them a desire for regeneration; for the faithful, that by His aid they may persevere in what they have begun. Will Vitalis refuse to obey these exhortations, because, forsooth, faith is of free will and not of God's gift? Nay, will a Carthaginian scholar array himself against Cyprian's exposition of the Lord's prayer? For certainly Cyprian teaches that we are to ask of God what Vitalis says is to be had of ourselves. We may go farther. It is not Cyprian, but Paul, who says, "Let us pray to God that we do no evil" (2 Cor. xiii. 7); it is the Psalmist who says, "The steps of man are directed by God" (Ps. xxxvi. 23). "If we wish to defend free will," Augustine urges, "let us not strive against that by which it is made free. For he who strives against grace, by which the will is made free for refusing evil and doing good, wishes his will to remain captive. Tell us, I beg you, how the apostle can say, 'We give thanks to the Father who made us fit to have our lot with the saints in light, who delivered us from the power of darkness and translated us into the kingdom of the Son of His love' (Col. i. 12, 13), if not He, but itself, frees our choice? It is, then, a false rendering of thanks to God, as if He does what He does not do; and he has erred who has said that 'He makes us fit, etc.' 'The grace of God,' therefore, does not consist in the nature of free will, and in law and teaching, as the Pelagian perversity dreams; but it is given for each single act by His will, concerning whom it is written,"—quoting Ps. lxvii. 10.

About the middle of the letter, Augustine lays down

¹ *Epistle 217.*

twelve propositions against the Pelagians, which are important as communicating to us what, at the end of the controversy, he considered the chief points in dispute. "Since, therefore," he writes, "we are catholic Christians: 1. We know that new-born children have not yet done anything in their own lives, good or evil, neither have they come into the miseries of this life according to the deserts of some previous life, which none of them can have had in their own persons; and yet, because they are born carnally after Adam, they contract the contagion of ancient death, by the first birth, and are not freed from the punishment of eternal death (which is contracted by a just condemnation, passing over from one to all), except they are by grace born again in Christ. 2. We know that the grace of God is given neither to children nor to adults according to our deserts. 3. We know that it is given to adults for each several act. 4. We know that it is not given to all men; and to those to whom it is given, it is not only not given according to the merits of works, but it is not even given to them according to the merits of their will; and this is especially apparent in children. 5. We know that to those to whom it is given, it is given by the gratuitous mercy of God. 6. We know that to those to whom it is not given, it is not given by the just judgment of God. 7. We know that we shall all stand before the tribunal of Christ, and each shall receive according to what he has done through the body,—not according to what he would have done, had he lived longer,—whether good or evil. 8. We know that even children are to receive according to what they have done through the body, whether good or evil. But according to what 'they have done' not by their own act, but by the act of those by whose responses for them they are said both to renounce the Devil and to believe in God, wherefore they are counted among the number of the faithful and have part in the statement of the Lord when He says, 'Whosoever shall believe and be baptized, shall be saved.' Therefore also, to those who do not receive this sacrament, belongs what follows, 'But whosoever

shall not have believed, shall be damned' (Mark xvi. 16). Whence these too, as I have said, if they die in that early age, are judged, of course, according to what they have done through the body, i.e., in the time in which they were in the body, when they believe or do not believe by the heart and mouth of their sponsors, when they are baptized or not baptized, when they eat or do not eat the flesh of Christ, when they drink or do not drink His blood,—according to those things, then, which they have done through the body, not according to those which, had they lived longer, they would have done. 9. We know that blessed are the dead that die in the Lord; and that what they would have done had they lived longer is not imputed to them. 10. We know that those that believe, with their own heart, in the Lord, do so by their own free will and choice. 11. We know that we who already believe act with right faith towards those who do not wish to believe, when we pray to God that they may wish it. 12. We know that for those who have believed out of this number, we both ought and are rightly and truly accustomed to return thanks to God, as for his benefits."

Certainly such a body of propositions commends their author to us as Christian both in head and heart: they are admirable in every respect; and even in the matter of the salvation of infants, where he had not yet seen the light of truth, he expresses himself in a way as engaging in its hearty faith in God's goodness as it is honorable in its loyalty to what he believed to be truth and justice. Here his doctrine of the Church ran athwart and clouded his view of the reach of grace; but we seem to see between the lines the promise of the brighter dawn of truth that was yet to come. The rest of the epistle is occupied with an exposition of these propositions, which ranks with the richest passages of the anti-Pelagian writings, and which breathes everywhere a yearning for his correspondent which, we cannot help hoping, proved salutary to his faith.

The Treatise "On Heresies."

It is not without significance, that the error of Vitalis took a semi-Pelagian form. Pure Pelagianism was by this time no longer a living issue. Augustine was himself, no doubt, not yet done with it. The second book of his treatise *On Marriage and Concupiscence*, which seems to have been taken to Italy by Alypius in 421, received at once the attention of Julian and was elaborately answered by him during that same year, in eight books addressed to one of his fellow-recusants named Florus. But Julian was now in Cilicia, and his book was slow in working its way westward. It was found at Rome by Alypius, apparently in 427 or 428, and he at once set about transcribing it for his friend's use. An opportunity arising to send it to Africa before it was finished, he forwarded to Augustine the five books that were ready, with an urgent request that they should receive his immediate attention, and a promise to send the other three as soon as possible. Augustine gives an account of the progress of his reply to them in a letter written to Quodvultdeus, apparently in 428.¹ This deacon was urging Augustine to give the Church a succinct account of all heresies; and Augustine excuses himself from immediately undertaking that task by the press of work on his hands. He was writing his *Retractations*, and had already finished two books of them, in which he had dealt with two hundred and thirty-two of his works. His letters and homilies remained to be examined, and he had given the necessary reading to many of the letters. He was engaged also, he tells his correspondent, on a reply to the eight books of Julian's new work. Working night and day, he had already completed his response to the first three of Julian's books and had begun on the fourth, while still expecting the arrival of the last three which Alypius had promised to send. If he had completed the answer to the five books of Julian which he already had in hand,

¹*Epistle 224.*

before the other three reached him, he might begin the work which Quodvultdeus so earnestly desired him to undertake. In due time, whatever may have been the trials and labors that needed first to be met, the desired treatise *On Heresies* was written (about 428), and the eighty-eighth chapter of it gives us a welcome compressed account of the Pelagian heresy, which may be accepted as the obverse of the account of catholic truth given in the letter to Vitalis.

"To the grace of God, by which we have been predestinated unto the adoption of sons by Jesus Christ unto himself (Eph. i. 5), and by which we are delivered from the power of darkness so as to believe in Him and be translated into His kingdom (Col. i. 13) (wherefore He says, 'No man comes to Me, except it be given him of My Father' [John vi. 66]), and by which love is shed abroad in our hearts (Rom. v. 5), so that faith may work by love," the Pelagians, he tells us, "are to such an extent inimical that they believe that man is able, without it, to keep all the Divine commandments—whereas, if this were true, it would clearly be an empty thing for the Lord to say, 'Without Me ye can do nothing' (John xv. 5)." "When Pelagius," he adds, "was at length accused by the brethren, because he attributed nothing to the assistance of God's grace towards the keeping of His commandments, he yielded to their rebuke so far as, not indeed to place this grace above free will, but at least to use faithless cunning in subordinating it, saying that it was given to men for this purpose, viz., that they might be able more easily to fulfil by grace what they were commanded to do by free will. By saying, 'that they might be able more easily,' he, of course, wished it to be believed that, although with more difficulty, nevertheless men were able without Divine grace to perform the Divine commands. But they say that the grace of God, without which we can do nothing good, does not exist except in free will, which without any preceding merits our nature received from Him; and that He adds His aid only that by His law and teaching we may learn what we ought to

do, but not that by the gift of His Spirit we may do what we have learned ought to be done. Accordingly, they allow that knowledge by which ignorance is banished is divinely given to us, but deny that love by which we may live a pious life is given; so that, forsooth, while knowledge, which without love puffeth up, is the gift of God, love itself, which edifieth so that knowledge may not puff up, is not the gift of God (1 Cor. viii. 11). They also destroy the prayers which the Church offers, whether for those that are unbelieving and resist God's teaching, that they may be converted to God; or for the faithful, that faith may be increased in them, and they may persevere in it. For they contend that men do not receive these things from Him but we have them from ourselves, saying, that the grace of God by which we are freed from impiety is given according to our merits. Pelagius was, no doubt, compelled to condemn this by his fear of being condemned by the episcopal judgment in Palestine; but he is found to teach it still in his later writings. They also go so far as to say that the life of the righteous in this world is without sin, and the Church of Christ is perfected by them in this mortality to the point of being entirely without spot or wrinkle (Eph. v. 27); as if it were not the Church of Christ, that, in the whole world, cries to God, 'Forgive us our debts.' They also deny that children, who are carnally born after Adam, contract the contagion of ancient death from their first birth. For they assert that they are so born without any bond of original sin, that there is absolutely nothing that ought to be remitted to them in the second birth; yet they are to be baptized, but only that, adopted in regeneration, they may be admitted to the kingdom of God, and thus be translated from good into better,—not that they may be washed by that renovation from any evil of the old bond. For although they be not baptized, they promise to them, outside the kingdom of God indeed, but nevertheless, a certain eternal and blessed life of their own. They also say that Adam himself, even had he not sinned, would have died in the body, and that this death would

not have come as a penalty to a fault, but as a condition of nature. Certain other things also are objected to them, but these are the chief, and moreover either all, or nearly all, the others may be understood to depend on these."

The Treatise "On the Predestination of the Saints."

The composition of the work *On Heresies* was not, however, the only interruption which postponed the completion of the second elaborate work against Julian. It was in the providence of God that the later energies of this great leader in the battle for grace should be expended in dealing with the subtler forms of error, as exhibited in semi-Pelagianism. We have seen his attention being already called to modifications of Pelagianism of this sort. And now information as to the rise of this new form of the heresy at Marseilles and elsewhere in Southern Gaul was conveyed to him along with entreaties that, as "faith's great patron," he would give his aid towards meeting it, by two laymen with whom he had already had correspondence,—Prosper and Hilary.¹

They pointed out² the difference between the new party and thoroughgoing Pelagianism; but, at the same time, the essentially Pelagianizing character of its formative elements. Its representatives were ready, as a rule, to admit that all men were lost in Adam, and that no one could recover himself by his own free will but all needed God's grace for salvation. But they objected to the doctrines of prevenient and of irresistible grace; and they asserted that man could initiate the process of salvation by turning first to God, and that all men could resist God's grace and no grace could be given which they could not reject; and especially they denied that the gifts of grace came irrespective of merits, actual or foreseen. They affirmed that what Augustine taught as to the calling of God's elect ac-

¹ Compare *Epistles* 225, 1, and 156. It is, of course, not certain that this is the same Hilary that wrote to Augustine from Sicily, but it seems probable.

² *Letters* 225, and 226.

cording to His own purpose was tantamount to fatalism, was contrary to the teaching of the fathers and the true Church doctrine, and, even if true, should not be preached, because of its tendency to drive men into indifference or despair. Hence, Prosper especially desired Augustine to point out the dangerous nature of these views, and to show that prevenient and co-operating grace is not inconsistent with free will, that God's predestination is not founded on foresight of receptivity in its objects, and that the doctrines of grace may be preached without danger to souls.

Augustine's answer to these appeals was a work in two books, *On the Predestination of the Saints*, the second book of which is usually known under the separate title of *The Gift of Perseverance*.

The former book begins with a careful discrimination of the position of his new opponents. They have made a right beginning in that they believe in original sin and acknowledge that none are saved from it save by Christ, and that God's grace leads men's wills, and without grace no one can suffice for good deeds. These things will furnish a good starting-point for their progress to an acceptance of predestination also (1-2). The first question that needs discussion in such circumstances is, whether God gives the very beginnings of faith (3 sq.). They admit that what Augustine had previously urged suffices to prove that faith is the gift of God so far as that the increase of faith is given by Him; but they deny that it will prove that the beginning of faith may not be understood to be man's, to which, then, God adds all other gifts (compare 43). Augustine insists that this contention is no other than a repetition of the Pelagian assertion of grace according to merit (3), that it is opposed to Scripture (4-5), and that it begets arrogant boasting in ourselves (6). He replies to the charge that he had himself once held this view, by confessing it, and explaining that he was converted from it by 1 Cor. iv. 7, as applied by Cyprian (7-8); and he then expounds that verse as containing in its narrow compass a sufficient answer to the present theories (9-11). He an-

swers, further, the objection that the apostle distinguishes faith from works, and works alone are meant in such passages, by pointing to John vi. 28, and similar statements in Paul (12-16). Then he answers the objection that he himself had previously taught that God acted on foresight of faith, by showing that he was misunderstood (17-18). He next shows that no objection lies against predestination that does not lie with equal force against grace (19-22),—since predestination is nothing but God's foreknowledge of and preparation for grace, and all questions of sovereignty and the like belong to grace. Did God not know to whom He was going to give faith (19)? Or did He promise the results of faith, works, without promising the faith without which, as going before, the works were impossible? Would not this place God's fulfilment of His promise out of His power, and make it depend on man (20)? Why are men more willing to trust in their weakness than in God's strength? Do they count God's promises more uncertain than their own performance (22)? He next proves the sovereignty of grace, and of predestination which is but the preparation for grace, by the striking examples of infants, and, above all, of the human nature of Christ (23-31), and then speaks of the twofold calling, one external and one "according to purpose,"—the latter of which is efficacious and sovereign (32-37). In closing, the semi Pelagian position is carefully defined and refuted as opposed, alike with the grosser Pelagianism, to the Scriptures of both Testaments (38-42).

The Treatise "On the Gift of Perseverance."

The purpose of the second book, which has come down to us under the separate title of *On the Gift of Perseverance*, is to show that that perseverance which endures to the end is as much of God as the beginning of faith, and that no man who has been "called according to God's purpose" and has received this gift, can fall from grace and be lost.

The first half of the treatise is devoted to this theme (1-33). It begins by distinguishing between temporary

perseverance which endures for a time, and that perseverance which continues to the end (1), and by affirming that the latter is certainly a gift of God's grace, and is, therefore, asked from God : which would otherwise be but a mocking petition (2-3). This, the Lord's Prayer itself might teach us, as under Cyprian's exposition it does teach us,—each petition being capable of being read as a prayer for perseverance (4-9). Of course, moreover, it cannot be lost ; otherwise it would not be " to the end." If man forsakes God, of course it is he that does it ; and he is doubtless under continual temptation to do so. But if man abides with God, it is God who secures that, and God is equally able to *keep* one when drawn to Him, as He is to *draw* him to Him (10-15). He argues anew at this point, that grace is not according to merit but always in mercy ; and explains and illustrates the unsearchable ways of God in His sovereign but merciful dealing with men (16-25). He closes this part of the treatise with a defence of himself against adverse quotations from his early work on *Free Will*, which he has already corrected in his *Retractions*.

The second half of the book discusses the objections that were being urged against the preaching of predestination (34-62), as if it opposed and enervated the preaching of the Gospel. He replies that Paul and the apostles, and Cyprian and the fathers, preached both together ; that the same objections will lie against the preaching of God's foreknowledge and grace itself, and, indeed, against preaching any of the virtues, as, e.g., obedience, while declaring them God's gifts. He meets the objections in detail, and shows that such preaching is food to the soul and must not be withheld from men ; but he explains that it must be given gently, wisely, and prayerfully. The whole treatise ends with an appeal to the prayers of the Church as testifying that all good is from God (63-65), and to the great example of unmerited grace and sovereign predestination in the choice of one human nature without preceding merit, to be united in one person with the Eternal Word,—an illustration of his theme of the

gratuitous grace of God which he is never tired of ad-
ducing (66-67).

The "Unfinished Work" against Julian.

These books were written in 428-429, and after their completion the unfinished work against Julian was resumed. Alypius had sent the remaining three books, and Augustine slowly toiled on to the end of his reply to the sixth book. But he was to be interrupted once more, and this time by the most serious of all interruptions. On the 28th of August, 430, while the Vandals were thundering at the gates of Hippo, he turned his face away from the strifes of earth—whether theological or secular—and full of faith and of good works, entered into rest with the Lord whom he loved. The last work against Julian was already one of the most considerable in size of all his books, but it was never finished and retains until to-day the significant title of *The Unfinished Work*. Augustine had hesitated to undertake this treatise, because he found Julian's arguments too vapid either to deserve retutation, or to afford occasion for really edifying discourse. Certainly the result falls below Augustine's usual level; and this can scarcely be due, as is so often said, to failing powers and great age, since nothing that he wrote surpasses in mellow beauty and chastened strength the two books *On the Predestination of the Saints*, which were written after four books of this work were completed.

The plan of the work is to state Julian's arguments in his own words, and to follow these with remarks; it thus takes on something of the form of a dialogue. It follows Julian's work, book by book. The first book states and answers certain calumnies which Julian had brought against Augustine and the catholic faith on the ground of their confession of original sin. Julian had argued, that, since God is just, He cannot impute another's sins to innocent infants; since sin is nothing but evil will, there can be no sin in infants who are not yet in the use of their will; and, since the freedom of will that is given to man consists in the

capacity of both sinning and not sinning, free will is denied to those who attribute sin to nature. Augustine replies to these arguments, and answers certain objections that are made to his work *On Marriage and Concupiscence*, and then corrects Julian's false explanations of certain Scriptures from John viii., Rom. vi., vii., and 2 Timothy. The second book is a discussion of Rom. v. 12, which Julian had tried, like the other Pelagians, to explain by the "imitation" of Adam's bad example. The third book examines the abuse by Julian of certain Old-Testament passages—in Deut. xxiv., 2 Kings xiv., Ezek. xviii.—in his effort to show that God does not impute the father's sins to the children; as well as his similar abuse of Heb. xi. The charge of Manicheism, which was so repetitiously brought by Julian against the catholics, is then examined and refuted. The fourth book treats of Julian's strictures on Augustine's treatise *On Marriage and Concupiscence* ii. 4-11, and proves from 1 John ii. 16 that concupiscence is evil, and not the work of God but of the Devil. Augustine argues that the shame that accompanies it is due to its sinfulness, and that there was none of it in Christ; also, that infants are born obnoxious to the first sin, and that the corruption of their origin is proved by Wisd. x. 10, 11. The fifth book defends *On Marriage and Concupiscence* ii. 12 sq., and argues that a sound nature could not feel shame on account of its members, and that regeneration is needed for what is generated by means of shameful concupiscence. Then Julian's abuse of 1 Cor. xv., Rom. v., Matt. vii. 17 and 33, with reference to *On Marriage and Concupiscence* ii. 14, 20, 26, is discussed; and then the origin of evil and God's treatment of evil in the world are examined. The sixth book traverses Julian's strictures on *On Marriage and Concupiscence* ii. 34 sq., and argues that human nature was changed for the worse by the sin of Adam, and thus was made not only sinful but the source of sinners; and that the forces of free will by which man could at first do rightly if he wished and refrain from sin if he chose, were lost by Adam's sin. An attack is made upon Julian's definition

of free will as "the capacity for sinning and not sinning" (*possibilitas peccandi et non peccandi*); and it is shown that the evils of this life are the punishment of sin,—including, first of all, physical death. At the end, 1 Cor. xv. 22 is treated.

Although the great preacher of grace was taken away by death before the completion of this book, yet his work was not left incomplete. In the course of the next year (431) the Œcumenical Council of Ephesus condemned Pelagianism for the whole Christian world; and an elaborate treatise against the pure Pelagianism of Julian was in 430 already an anachronism. Semi-Pelagianism was yet to run its course, and to work its way to a permanent position in the heart of a corrupt church; but pure Pelagianism was to abate with the first generation of its advocates. As a leaven it will, of course, persist as long as an evil heart of unbelief persists among men: but under the leadership of Augustine the Church for all time found its bearings with reference to it, and henceforth it must needs assume subtler forms to menace the dominion of the doctrines of grace. As we look back now through the almost millennium and a half of years that have intervened since Augustine lived and wrote, it is to his *Predestination of the Saints*,—a completed, and well-completed, treatise, dealing with one of these subtle forms of the great error for the confutation of which he had expended so much of time and strength,—and not to *The Unfinished Work*, which was still engaged with its gross form, that we look as the crown and completion of his labors in behalf of the grace of God.

TWO ARCHBISHOPS.

BY DEAN F. W. FARRAR.

From *The Contemporary Review* (London), November, 1896.

ALL who know the Church of England best and love her most are well aware of the serious drawbacks to her influence, of the perilous phases through which she

passes from time to time, of the many defects and weaknesses in her organisation. But her worst enemies cannot deny that in the present and the passing generation, and within the personal memory of thousands who have not yet reached their threescore years and ten, a multitude of men have appeared in the ranks of her ministry who would have adorned any Church at any epoch—men of the most varied and brilliant endowments, of wide learning, of great eloquence, of high spiritual power. In early days we used to delight in the ornate and thrilling periods of Melville, the polished oratory of McNeile, the fervid earnestness of Hugh Stowell, the thoughtful and illuminating insight of F. W. Robertson. We knew and may have listened to the two men—widely different from each other, yet each so eminent in his own sphere—whose departure into another fold was the severest blow from which, in this century, the Church of England has suffered—Cardinals Newman and Manning. Some of us were brought up at the feet of the prophet of the last generation, F. D. Maurice, a man who more truly recalls the ideal of some of the Hebrew prophets than any divine of this century; a man whose wisdom was more humble, whose heart was deeper and nobler, whose life was more impressively saintly than those of any of his contemporaries. We have enjoyed the bright originality and fervent veracity of Charles Kingsley. We have thrilled to the impassioned periods of Samuel Wilberforce, whom, together with John Bright and Mr. Gladstone, I would call the three most truly eloquent speakers whom I have ever heard. We have listened by the hour to the fine English and lofty thought of Canon Liddon. We have known, and heard, and loved Arthur Stanley, a man whose intellect, learning, and—as Lord Beaconsfield phrased it with his usual felicity—whose “picturesque sensibility” revived for us those Bible stories which, for many, had long been given over as a prey to feeble conventionality. In spite of rancorous party attempts to disparage his labours, Dean Stanley rendered higher and more permanent services to theology, in its truest

sense, than ninety-nine hundredths of the critics who looked down upon him from the whole height of their inferiority ; and he will be remembered and honoured a hundred years after the Church reviews and newspapers which heaped scorn on him have sunk into the oblivion from which for a week or a month they sometimes emerge.

Who can ever forget the radiant charm of his unaffected simplicity, of his transparent sincerity, of his childlike saintliness ? It would take a large space to attempt the characterisation of men so very diversely endowed, yet each in their degree so gifted and so good, as Deans Merivale, Plumptre, Jeremie, Church, and Wellesley. We have gained vast stores of information from the writings of Deans Hook and Goode and Milman ; of Professors and Masters of Colleges like Sidgwick, Whewell, Jowett, Pusey, and Hort ; of Bishops so wise, learned, and sincere, as Lonsdale, Thirlwall, Lightfoot, Selwyn, and Fraser ; of Archbishops so conspicuous for great qualities, as Tait, Trench, Thomson, Magee, and Benson. And yet I have not even mentioned half the names of admirable English Churchmen, who were often antagonistic to each other in their opinions, but who, because they were just, and pious, and devout, have long ere now, we trust, recognised each other as equally the beloved servants and children of one Master, and all of whom served Him well in their generation ere they "fell on sleep." "What that sacred and supreme Majesty requires of us," as Lactantius truly said, "is innocence alone."

It is of the last two—Archbishop Magee and Archbishop Benson—that I am asked to say a few words.

The "Life of Archbishop Magee" has just been published,¹ and before I say a word about him, I am led to express the doubt whether the task of the biographer is not in almost every case an impossible task. Dr. Magee must have had something of this feeling.

¹ "The Life and Correspondence of William Connor Magee, Archbishop of York, Bishop of Peterborough." By J. C. MacDonnell, D.D., etc. Two vols. London : Isbister.

Speaking favourably of the first volume of the "Life of Bishop Wilberforce," he says that it has the rare merits—

- "(1) Of complete suppression of the author.
- "(2) Of truthful representation of the subject.
- "(3) Of brevity.
- "(4) Of picturesqueness—by which I mean placing the hero in the centre of a succession of pictures of his times so that they reflect light on him and he on them.
- "(5) Of bringing out the inner life of the man truly and fully, yet without the twaddle of religious diaries."

But he strongly disliked the last volume, which he describes as

"scanty and scrappy. Altogether this volume," he said, "is an unsuccessful attempt to glorify S. Wilberforce by making him the hero of every bishop's meeting and conference, and the guiding spirit, which during Tait's primacy he *never was*: and this is attempted:

- "(1) By setting him up.
- "(2) By pulling all others down, save Gladstone, who, of course, figures always as praising *him*."

* * * * *

"The more I see of the 'Life' the more I feel its spitefulness of selection of *publicanda*: and the more I feel that in the long run it will not seriously hurt any one mentioned in it."

Speaking unfavourably of the "Life of Dean Hook," he says that biographies ought not to be written by sons or near relations. Yet we have had one or two good biographies by sons—like those of Professor Maurice and Professor Hort—while we have had others both bad and meagre by friends, and others again by men who were not friends; and most of them have been very unsatisfactory. I have read at least a dozen memoirs of men of distinction whom I have known, and not one of them has accurately delineated the real man. In some of them the very facts and details which played the *most* essential part in the lives and careers which they set forth are (perhaps inevitably) conspicuous by their absence. One sometimes feels inclined to say of biography what Walpole said of history: "Don't read me history, for I know that *can't* be true." We do not care for the rapid trivialities and chronicles of small beer which find a space in so many volumes. They remind us of Mrs. Gaskell's old lady

who, receiving an injunction from her grandmother "to keep baby's feet warm," docketed the letter with the title, "Letter from my revered grandmother to my honoured mother on the importance of cherishing warmth in the extremities of infants." Every one mistrusts the common sort of biography which is one strain of continuous laudation. We put such books down, and say with Sheffield, Duke of Buckinghamshire :

" There's no such thing in nature, and you'll draw
A faultless monster which the world ne'er saw."

On the other hand, when a biographer ventures very slightly and partially to draw the veil, and exhibit something of what the man really was—often with the result of producing astonishing disenchantment, as in Froude's "Life of Carlyle," though even in that biography the inmost facts are not set forth—the world is disgusted and indignant. I have seen so much of the *unreal* impression left even by painstaking biographies that I am inclined to think either that they should not be published till they can be fully and truthfully written without causing pain, or that they should be very brief, and should content themselves mainly with external facts. Mr. Browning is by no means the only man of eminence in this generation who, before his death, has burnt all the private letters on which he could lay his hand. A biography which does not tell the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, may very easily leave an entirely false presentation of its subject ; and a biography which *does* attempt this often becomes glaringly indiscreet, and incurs the censure of Tennyson :

" Proclaim the faults he would not show ;
Break lock and seal ; betray the trust ;
Keep nothing sacred ; 'tis but just
The many-headed beast should know."

Some theologian, I forget who, has said that God has "reserved for His own sight alone that hideous thing, a naked human heart." Most certainly it is not the duty of any biographer to say *all*, but it is essential

that he should indicate enough to make his likeness real. I am quite sure that Canon MacDonnell has endeavoured to fulfil his task truthfully and justly ; but he was the most intimate friend of Archbishop Magee, and perhaps for that very reason does not sufficiently indicate the limitations, very human and very pardonable, and only thrown into relief by high and noble qualities, which, in part, marred the Archbishop's career, and made him not quite fair or just to those who ventured to differ from him. Yet it is at the same time to be regretted that he has published depreciatory epigrams from these confidential letters, which cannot but pain some of the living, and which were not necessary to the purpose of truthful delineation.

The sketch of Dr. Magee's childhood, boyhood, and youth is very interesting. As a boy at school, though he was full of fun and mischief, he took no part in any form of athletics, but was an omnivorous reader, especially of French books ; and this was a taste which he retained to the last. Born in 1821, he left his school, Kilkenny College, in 1835, a clever, precocious boy, full of generous impulses. Even at Trinity College, Dublin, he began to win a name for his oratorical gifts, and almost as soon as he was ordained his sermons attracted attention. All his life he was subject to serious ill-health, and in 1846 he had to leave his work for a tour in Spain, which is here described in graphic and characteristic letters. They give a vivid impression of the depths to which Roman Catholicism has sunk in that country, among an ignorant and priest-ridden people.

As he held for many years the position of the first of our pulpit orators, it is interesting to read Dr. Magee's views about sermons, respecting which he says that he was "intensely ambitious, and felt that he could succeed." While he was twenty-six years old, he wrote :

"As to hints on sermon-writing, I think you know my plan. It is not the easiest, but in the end I think the best way, never to look about until I had the *idea* (in the Coleridgean sense) of my sermon sketched, and then to read everything bearing on the subject. The great aim of the preacher who wants to excel is to *master* the mind of his hear-

ers ; to do this he must first master his subject, so as to be able to present it in a new light. He who can do this will always command attention. Another rule I always followed was never to have *more than one idea* in my sermon, and arrange every sentence with a view to that. This is extremely difficult. I don't recollect succeeding in doing this more than three times. A good sermon should be like a wedge, all tending to a point. Eloquence and manner are the hammer that sends it home ; but the *sine quâ non* is the disposition of the parts, the shape. I am convinced this is the secret of sermon writing. I gave two years to the study of it ; it was my passion, and just as I felt I had found it, just as I had experienced that most intoxicating of all pleasures, the *sense of power*, the magnetic sensation which the speaker feels as he perceives he is commanding his audience—then *my mouth is stopped*, just as I felt I had gained the reward of two years' toil. . . . Perhaps I am now suffering a just punishment for a sinful forgetfulness of higher motives in my profession ; but I feel like an alchemist who sees all his crucibles smashed by some unlucky accident just as he was on the point of succeeding in making the philosopher's stone. I can hardly describe to you the bitterness of my disappointment. However, this is all very selfish. To return to sermons. If you want to go easy and softly as a 'dear young man who knows the Gospel,' get Simeon's skeletons and talk about faith ; etc. ; if you want to excel, never read a sermon, and study *arrangement and effect*. There are but the two ways. You see I am dogmatizing, but *experto crede*."

He repeated the same views to a Society of the Clergy at St. Paul's when he was Bishop of Peterborough. He told the clergy that if they wished to speak *extempore* they must "burn their sermons into their brain." He regarded a written sermon as something entirely different in kind from an *extempore* one ; he spoke of written sermons as religious addresses or meditations. Yet surely all who have heard sermons for years together would say that, while a sermon learnt off by rote (for that is what most so-called *extempore* sermons are), or really spoken (which is very rare indeed) in unpremeditated words which come fresh and burning from the heart, may produce more immediate effect, it is on the one hand doubtful whether such *tours de force* produce so deep an ultimate impression ; and on the other hand it is certain that not one man in a thousand has the requisite gifts to preach in this manner. There are some who pride themselves on a style of *extempore* speaking which consists only in pouring forth a cataract of twaddle,

"In one weak, washy, everlasting flood."

St. Augustine and St. Chrysostom in ancient days—Tillotson and South, and Burnet, and Barrow, in modern times—were regarded as consummate preachers; yet they frequently, and in the latter instances invariably, wrote and read their sermons. If we take the very greatest names of modern preachers, names of men who have produced ineffaceable impressions on countless souls—Chalmers, Melville, Maurice, Kingsley, Newman, Stanley—all of these read their sermons. Newman, while his words went thrilling to the souls of generation after generation of Oxford undergraduates, never lifted his eyes from his book, or raised the tones of his voice. Liddon, who began by preaching with notes only, during all the later years of his life wrote and read his sermons. If I may mention two only of the living—Dean Vaughan and the Archbishop of Armagh, who are among the most eloquent and delightful of living preachers—both read from their manuscripts “the thoughts that breathe and words that burn.”

Ordained in 1845, Magee was first a curate at St. Thomas's, Dublin, then at St. Saviour's, Bath, and he used to say that those years at Bath (1849-1851) were the happiest in his life. From 1851 to 1860, he was gradually increasing his fame, as minister of the Octagon Chapel, Bath. In 1860, at the age of thirty-nine, he became minister of Quebec Chapel, London, and then rector of Enniskillen. In 1864 he was appointed Dean of Cork, and in 1868 Bishop of Peterborough. Till the age of forty-seven, therefore, he was more or less a poor and struggling man, and during these earlier parts of his career his life had not only its natural trials, but also its stormy periods, which the intense and proud sensitiveness of his disposition made it more difficult to bear. He once wrote :

“ I should like to be where I could read, write, fish, and, except when I saw a friend, *forget there was a world where fools thrive, and wise men are driven wild by seeing it ; a world where —s play first fiddles, and MacDonnells and Magees play hurdy gurdies ;* I had sooner stroll about the fields among green corn and sheep than live among green evangelicals and see them worshipping calves. All this, however, would not stir your bile as it would and does mine.

You are a smooth man, and will get through the world happily : I am a hairy man, and am dragged through the world wrong end foremost, so that my hair is all on end."

That passage gives the secret of many of the trials of his life. It is one of many which resemble it. He was needlessly impatient and needlessly bitter. Such passages as the following are less sympathetic in tone than could be desired :

"I saw, this afternoon, the grand procession of the Radical clubs and unions to a monster meeting in Hyde Park against 'coercion.' It was very instructive. The multitude of small, undersized, citizen-like youths and men—some fierce and proud, some evidently half ashamed of the whole thing, some evidently regarding it as a jolly lark—the tawdry banners, the flashy mottoes, the dismal bands, and the utterly indifferent spectators—all combined with the knowledge that the gathering would go off quietly, and have not the least effect on the mind of that public which still governs—all so unlike anything that could happen in any country save England ; all so contemptible *now*, and yet all so fraught with elements of danger for the future—struck me greatly."

Or take these very trenchant remarks :

"The boorish voter who sustained that aristocracy and squirearchy was dull and impassive, and open to bribery and beer ; but he was stolid and bovine, and never got into a fury except against the Pope. But your modern, half-taught, newspaper-reading, platform-haunting, discussion-club frequenter, conceited, excitable, nervous product of modern town artisan life, is a most dangerous animal. He loves rant and cant and fustian, and loves too the power for the masses that all this rant and cant is aiming at, and he seems to be rapidly becoming the great ruling power in England."

Or again, on a different subject :

"How sick I am of speaking, preaching, talking, and working generally ! How I long for the side of a trout stream, or a boat on Loch Imagh, with no letters, no after-thoughts, no *nothink*."

"Surely Çakya Mouni, the great founder of Buddhism, must have been a bishop of some sort when he invented the heaven of Nirvana. Even lotus eating must have been the idea of some sore worried Greek priest, who had probably to attend many temple 'restorations' and take part in many processions, and had Greek W—s to manage, and dreamed one night of 'the land where it is always afternoon.' Alas for me ! my lotus just now is quinine, and my ague fit comes on regularly each afternoon, in spite of the said quinine."

And to quote but one more of these recurring outbursts :

"What a hornet's nest he brings about his ears who does not 'let things be,' however bad they are, but must needs try to mend them !

He gets all the stings, and any honey going goes to those who give him neither thanks for the honey nor pity for the stings."

Dr. Magee incessantly complained of "misrepresentation," "outrageous travesties," and so forth, and alludes again and again to Church newspapers, with their reams of abuse and attack. But to endure all those "hurricanes of calumny and tornadoes of abuse," as Mr. John Bright called them, is the most ordinary lot even of quite humble public men, who have none of the *solatia* which fell to the Archbishop, and who have said and done nothing to provoke such animosity. He would have been wiser not to read the attacks. When a man is conscious of his own utter sincerity and integrity, he can do nothing better than to "get the thing done, and let them howl." There can be no wiser rule for a man who regards it as his sacred duty boldly to speak the truth and shame the devil, and constantly to take the unpopular side, than those words inscribed on the Marischal College at Aberdeen: "*They haif said; gihat say they? lat them say.*" A man need not be so "hair-sore" as the Bishop said he was, if he will simply follow the two rules: "*Do the next thyng,*" and

"Lascia dir le genti:
Sta come torre ferma, che non crolla
Giammai la cima per soffiar de' venti."¹

But as he often spoke slightly, and even contemptuously, of others, he should have been less astonished if he, too, had to bear his share of misapprehension. He was often lacerated by the "*Sæva indignatio*," and could mentally describe an opponent as an "unmitigated ass," and cauterise those who honestly differed from him (and were often in the right) with scathing epithets. Yet, unfortunately, he was but little able to bear criticism himself. It is a great pity that some of his splenetic outbursts are here printed, and applied to good men still living, or only recently dead. He might speak of the clergy *en masse*, without greatly hurting any one's feelings, as when he wrote:

"Truly we are coming very fast to the condition in which Captain

¹ Dante, "Purgatorio," v. 13-15.

Parolles represented the Duke's army as being, when he said that there were 10,000 of them; but that one half of them 'dare not shake the snow from off their cassocks *lest they shake themselves to pieces!*'

"I am beginning almost to long, I have been for some time looking, for Disestablishment. It will very nearly drown us; but it will kill the fleas."

Or, when a bishopric was vacant :

"Deans A and B are ordering a pair of lawn sleeves between them, the winner to pay. Their wives are cautioning their daughters not to be too familiar with curates. I have an application for the agency of the See of Limerick. I wonder, do the parasites on the hind legs of a bluebottle make interest for promotion to the fore legs on a death vacancy?"

Or, once more :

"Our clergy here," he wrote in 1872, "are like an angry swarm of bees in defence of the damnatory clauses. Clergy in Convocation are like wet hay in a stack, the thicker you pack them the hotter they grow."

These disparagements are impartially general; but personalities should have been omitted. It is painful to read of a truly great and good archbishop the unkind remark that "he regarded the clergy as a big sixth form;" or to hear one of the most lovable of deans called "a strangely fascinating, sad, solitary piece of Church history;" or the eminent clerical scholar who presided over an Oxford college described as a freethinker, and "the mummy of an opium-eater restored to life and dressed in the dinner-dress of the nineteenth century;" and of a great preacher as "a man of *feminine* mind," and "a monk in petticoats;" and of another good and humble bishop as "poking his small person into a strife which he does not understand and is not equal to." It is still more objectionable to print Dr. Magee's opinion of a living Dean as "the *Cleon* of the Lower House;" and of a living bishop as "inopportune and mischievous in the most saintly way," who "pressed upon us a heap of sweetly solemn platitudes, such as he alone can indite, and such as he alone believes can be of the slightest use to man, woman, or child." Such remarks might be made, harmlessly enough, in familiar conversation, or written in the case of confidential letters, but it is a very different

matter to preserve them in print, and it is to be hoped that in future editions they may be expunged, or the names omitted.

The reader will gain from these pages some proof that the life of a bishop is very far indeed from being a bed of roses. The bishop writes at various times :

" Oh, how weary I am of it all ! weary of trying to restrain the follies of the clergy.

" I had a return of a bad cold yesterday morning—preached with two pocket handkerchiefs to a great congregation at St. Mary's, ate a ' cold collation ' at 3 o'clock, saw clergy on business until 5 o'clock, went to a ' parochial tea ' at 6 o'clock ; sat out no end of tea, glees, and speeches, until 9.30 ; finished off with a speech until 10 o'clock ; came here very bad with cold, took chlorodyne, and went to bed very miserable ; woke next morning quite well. Went over the Infirmary, sat out a three hours' public meeting, attended a two hours' Church Extension committee meeting, talked with clergy till 5 o'clock, had my dinner, and am off now to an evening meeting. Such is the easy, luxurious life we bloated prelates lead.

" Ye gentlemen in curacies who sit at home at ease
How little do ye think upon the labours of our *sees*.

" I am still in the midst of a Confirmation tour, which will not end until next week. The week after I have to preach before the Queen : and *nearly every day after that, for five weeks, I have to preach or speak somewhere or other*, until June 18, when I hope to get away for my summer holidays.

" You may see from this at what a pace we ' bloated and indolent ' English prelates are living. I doubt if any one of us will live as bishop ten years.

" God knows, and He only, how I hate patronage. It is the most anxious, thankless, and disappointing duty that any man can be called on to perform.

" He is certain to disappoint nineteen out of twenty eligible men, and then it is twenty to one that the twentieth disappoints *him* !"

Canon MacDonnell accuses me of harping on the too famous remark of Magee (in his speech of May 2, 1872). It was universally quoted in the Press that " he preferred to see England free to England sober." With all explanations I still regard it as involving a disastrous sophism, a dangerous error in judgment and a most false antithesis. But I have never *harped* on it. So far as I can remember, I only once publicly tried to expose its falsity, in a speech delivered in the Sheldonian Theatre at Oxford. I did so because I had devoted my utmost efforts to awaken the conscience of

my fellow-countrymen to realise the deadliness of a curse which Mr. Gladstone in the House of Commons described as more pernicious than those of war, famine, and pestilence combined; and because at every turn the drinksellers were flouting us with this epigram, which, whatever may have been the intention of the speaker, dangerously dazzled and deceived the multitude. "If *you* did not understand the grounds of my objection to the Permissive Bill," wrote the Bishop to Canon MacDonnell, "it is clear that multitudes besides must have misunderstood it too." For myself, I never did misunderstand it; but, having once endeavoured to show its error, I left it alone. Bishop Magee was bitterly and disproportionately offended by my perfectly fair and honest criticism, and whereas we had been on cordial terms, he suddenly became cold and hostile without telling me the reason till years later. I then ventured to say to him, very much more plainly than I here write, how far better it would have been if he had at once let me know that he had taken offence. In that case he would have received from me, by return of post, an expression of the most sincere regret if, however unwittingly, I had misrepresented his meaning and wounded his sensitiveness. Nothing would have pleased me more than to give any explanation which he desired of what had been his real meaning. *He himself afterwards regretted the form in which he had expressed his meaning*; and, in later years, owing to circumstances to which I will not allude, he became entirely friendly, and ceased to speak of me with disdainful anger and contemptuous epithets. I believe that the last sermon which he preached in London was preached at my church by my request. Mr. Gladstone was present, and spoke of it as one of the finest sermons he had ever heard. That day the Bishop—it was just before he became Archbishop of York—dined with us, and the Archbishop of Armagh, then Bishop of Derry, was our other guest. He described the sermon as worthy in parts of Bossuet. I had first made the acquaintance of both when one was Dean of Cork and the other Dean of Emly, and I happened to sit between

them on the platform at the Church Congress in Dublin in 1868. The Dean of Cork, as he then was, spoke to me most kindly about the paper I had read, and himself made a speech upon it. The last time I saw him was at the Athenæum, almost immediately before his death, when, in radiant spirits, he thanked me heartily for my congratulations on his recent promotion to the Archbishopric of York, which threw a vivid gleam of happiness upon his closing days, and had, as he expressed it, "given him 'quite a new lease of life.'" He was not exempt from those faults which mark all men, even the best; but he was a good as well as an eminent man, and in these volumes may be found many arguments and opinions of great and permanent value on important subjects. There were some of his public lines of action with which I cannot honestly express any agreement; but his endeavour to procure legal protection for the tormented children of bad parents is one of many efforts for which he deserves all gratitude and praise.

When Archbishop Tait was ill in 1869 Archbishop Magee wrote: "Who and what a Gladstonian archbishop would be, if he resigned or died, God only knows." But the "Gladstonian archbishop" in 1882 was Dr. Benson, the beloved and saintly prelate who has just been taken from us. Dr. Magee had himself pointed out his fitness, and with great prescience indicated the line he would take if chosen. He wrote: "All things considered, age especially, he would, perhaps, prove the best for the Church. He would certainly unite and lead the Episcopate better than the Bishop of Durham." I believe that the recognition of Dr. Benson's goodness and of his rare qualities of head and heart will grow as time goes on. Although I had known him ever since we were undergraduates—he was only a little senior to me—at Trinity College, Cambridge, I never got to love him more, or set a higher value on his private character and public services, than during the last eighteen months. As the old Palace of the Archbishop of Canterbury was pulled down by the Puritans in 1558, the Archbishops have now no palace

at Canterbury, and practically use the Deanery as their palace during their visits, three times a year or oftener, to the premier cathedral. I had never before witnessed so closely the sunny charm and geniality of fatherliness and brotherliness which characterised his demeanour to all with whom he was thrown, from the greatest of bores down to the most delightful of companions, and from the oldest bedesman of eighty down to the youngest choir-boy of eleven. This "sweetness and light," this power of making himself universally beloved, was undoubtedly a great help to him in his public work. And how admirable had been his career! Gifted, both as a youth and as a man, with great personal comeliness, he always seemed to win all hearts. As a boy at school, he had not only had a stainless character, but was happy in the friendship of two other boys, who remained his lifelong intimates—the late Dr. Lightfoot, Bishop of Durham, and the present Bishop of Durham, Dr. Westcott. Even as boys they were seriously and unfeignedly religious. It is a proud thing for Birmingham School, and for their Head Master, Dr. Prince Lee, the first Bishop of Manchester, to have trained at the same time three boys, who, though very much unlike each other, grew up to be among the foremost prelates and greatest theologians of their age. Dr. Lightfoot and Dr. Westcott have rendered inestimable services to the elucidation of the text and interpretation of the New Testament. Dr. Benson was, if a less deep, yet, perhaps, an even more graceful scholar than either of them. He was fitted for his high position by his thorough knowledge of and interest in cathedral life, and in all branches of liturgical, ecclesiastical, and archaeological lore. He also possessed remarkable tact and practical ability, large-hearted tolerance, genuine sympathy with men who differed from him, and a quiet force of persuasive influence. And how bright and useful were his labours! He became Chancellor's Medallist at Cambridge, and Scholar and Fellow of his College. There have been few more brilliant writers of Latin and Greek verse than he. His version of Gray's "Ode on the Death of a Favourite Cat," writ-

ten in the Medal Examinations, became quite famous for its felicity. Probably the last Latin elegiacs which he ever wrote were written at my request, to place under the *opus sectile* memorial of Bishop Phillips Brooks in St. Margaret's church. They were as follows :

" Fervidus eloquio, sacra doctissimus arte,
Suadendi gravibus vera Deumque viris,
Quæreris ab sedem populari voce regendam,
Quæreris—ab sedem rapte domumque Dei."

They were rendered by his poet son, Mr. Arthur Benson :

" Fervent with speech, most strong with sacred art,
To light, to lift the struggling human heart ;
To feed the flock : thy people's choice was given—
Required on earth, but ah ! preferred to heaven."

The career of the late Archbishop was indeed enviable. After a short spell of work under Dr. Goulburn, as an assistant-master at Rugby, he attracted the favourable notice of the Prince Consort, and while quite a young man was chosen the first headmaster of Wellington College, which was one of the memorials of Arthur, Duke of Wellington. To start a new school nobly and successfully is a Herculean task ; but no one could have achieved it more admirably than Dr. Benson. He stamped all the institutions of the College with his own individuality, gave it the motto *Heroum Filii*, and, in the words of his son,

" taught the sons of hero sires
To be the sires of hero sons."

Visiting the College, as his guest, at an early stage of its career, and preaching to the boys in the temporary chapel, and meeting them at his hospitable table, I saw how kind he was, yet how firm ; and how naturally he won the affection of his pupils. He then became Canon and Chancellor of Lincoln Cathedral, and by the singular success and felicity of his work there evinced his fitness for the arduous post of founding the new cathedral and organising the new diocese of Truro. At Truro again he won the hearts of all the Cornishmen.

When Archbishop Tait died he was at once one of those who were marked out by the popular voice as likely to succeed him. What his primacy was, how deep and real were the services which he was enabled to render to the Church of England and of Wales in dangerous crises, how indefatigable were his self-denying labours, how conciliatory his tone, how firm his principles, how large his tolerance, how munificent his generosity both to rich and poor, is known to all. On Friday, October 16, he was laid in his honoured resting-place, the first archbishop of the Reformed Church of England to be interred in Canterbury Cathedral, in which repose the remains of the great majority of the previous primates down to Cardinal Pole, who died in 1559. The Duke of York, as representative of H. M. the Queen; Prince Charles of Denmark; the representative of the German Emperor, and of almost every member of the Royal Family were present and laid wreaths or floral tributes on his grave. Two archbishops, more than thirty bishops, several headmasters of our great public schools, some judges and literary men, more than three hundred clergy, the Mayor and Corporation of Canterbury; the Mayors of other towns; the Commandants and many officers of the soldiers at Canterbury and Dover; delegates from the Universities of Cambridge, Oxford, Dublin, from various great public bodies, and from many schools; the students of St. Augustine's College, boys of the King's School and Clergy Orphan School, and not these only but also Roman Catholics, Jews, and Nonconformists of all denominations flocked to the ancient city on that tempestuous day to do honour to his beloved memory. The universal sorrow manifested at that impressive and pathetic funeral ceremony, together with the messages of condolence which flowed in from America, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and all parts of the world, is the best proof how deep and how sincere was the appreciation of the work and of the character of the 92nd Archbishop of Canterbury, whose sudden yet happy death almost exactly marks the close of the thirteenth century since first the baptism of King Ethel-

bert by St. Augustine inaugurated the conversion of the Saxon race, and the first establishment in England of the Christian faith.

THE INCARNATION: A STUDY OF PHILIPPIANS II. 5-11.

BY E. H. GIFFORD, D.D.

From *The Expositor* (London), October, 1896.

PART II.—(*Concluded.*)

(3) A THIRD and much more valid objection is based on the relation of οὐχ ἀπαγμὸν ἡγήσατο to the preceding and following context.

Thus Dr. Martin Routh, commenting on the quotation of Philippians ii. 6, in the *Epistle of the Churches of Vienne and Lyons*, writes thus (*Rel. Sacr.*, I. p. 364): "However the words, οὐχ ἀπαγμὸν ἡγήσατο τὸ εἶναι ἕσα θεῷ, are to be interpreted, this at least is certain, that the Lyonnais drew from them a proof of Christ's humility (τῆς ταπεινοφροσύνης). Nor they alone, but also many other ancient writers did the same; nay more, I will undertake to say that up to the time of the Nicene Council no ecclesiastical writer can be adduced who has clearly and plainly indicated that these words mean, in accordance with the rendering in our English Version, 'thought it not a thing alien to Himself.'"

By "alienum a se" Dr. Routh appears to mean "a thing obtained, or to be obtained, only by usurpation or robbery; he thus rejects the meaning, 'He regarded it as His own by right.'"

The same view is strongly urged by the ablest of our English commentators, such as Bishop Ellicott, Bishop Lightfoot, and Dean Gwynn in the *Speaker's Commentary*.

They argue with undeniable force (a) that the rendering "thought it not robbery" is an assertion of *rightful dignity*, and that, in a "prominent and emphatic

sentence" (Gwynn), where we are led to expect "an instance of self-abnegation or humility," exemplifying the principle in *v. 4*, *not looking each to his own things, but each also to the things of others.*

"We expect this appeal to our great Example (*v. 5*) to be followed immediately by a reference, not to the right which He *claimed*, but to the dignity which He renounced. . . . The mention of our Lord's condescension is thus postponed too late in the sentence" (Lightfoot). (*b*) A further objection is thus stated by Dean Gwynn: "The following verse (*7*), describing the act by which He 'emptied Himself,' brings it into the sharpest contrast by the introductory '*but*' (*ἀλλά*, *i.e.*, '*but on the contrary*,' as in *vv. 3, 4*) with that which is conveyed by the verb (*ἡγήσατο*) of this sentence. But 'to think it robbery to be equal with God' stands in no such contrast with 'to empty Himself.' To say 'He did not count it a wrongful act to assert Divine Attributes(?), but *on the contrary* laid them aside,' is unmeaning."

Admitting the force of these arguments, we believe the right meaning of the clause to be that the Son of God did not regard His being on equal conditions of glory and majesty with God as a prize and treasure to be held fast, but emptied Himself thereof.

Before passing on, we may do well to observe the perfect accuracy with which St. Paul applies the verbs *ὑπάρχειν*, *εἶναι*, and *γίγνεσθαι*, the first to the eternal *subsistence* of "the form of God," the second to states and conditions *existing at a particular time*, but presently to be laid aside, and the last (*γενόμενον*) to the *entrance upon a new existence* "in the likeness of men."

vi. Passing to the next clause, *ἀλλὰ ἑαυτὸν ἐκένωσεν*, we observe that—

(1) The position of *ἑαυτὸν* before *ἐκένωσεν* lays an emphasis upon the thought that the self-emptying was Christ's own voluntary act, 'an act corresponding to the precept in *v. 4*, *μὴ τὰ ἑαυτῶν ἕκαστοι σκοποῦντες.*

¹ Chrysost. *in loc.*: Πού οἱ λέγοντες ὅτι ἀνάγκη ὑπέστη, ὅτι ὑπετάγη; Ἐαυτὸν, φησὶν, ἐκένωσεν, ἑαυτὸν ἐταπείνωσεν.

(2) The verb *κενῶ* is sometimes followed by a Genitive denoting "*the contents*" which are removed, as in Plato, *Republ.*, viii. 560D: *τούτων . . . κενώσαντες τὴν . . . ψυχὴν.*

Sympos., 197C: *οὗτος . . . ἡμᾶς ἀλλοτριότητος κενοῖ.*

And Plutarch, *Apophth. Lacon.*, 229D: *τὰν ψυχὰν κενῶσαι κακῶν.*

When, as in *Phil.* ii. 7, there is no Genitive expressed, the idea of *the contents* must be gathered from the context; and in this case the antithetical relation between *τὸ εἶναι ἴσα Θεῷ* and *ἐκένωσεν ἑαυτόν*, enforced as it is by the direct contradiction *οὐκ . . . ἀλλὰ*, leaves no room for doubt.

Accordingly the only admissible interpretation is that which was given by the Synod of Antioch (A.D. 269) in the *Epistle to Paul of Samosata* before his deposition: "*οὗ χάριν ὁ αὐτὸς Θεὸς καὶ ἄνθρωπος Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς . . . ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τῇ ὑπὸ τὸν οὐρανὸν πάσῃ πεπίστευται Θεὸς μὲν κενώσας ἑαυτὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ εἶναι ἴσα Θεῷ, ἄνθρωπος δὲ καὶ ἐκ σπέρματος Δαβὶδ τὸ κατὰ σάρκα.*"

"On which account the same God and man Jesus Christ in all the Church under heaven has been believed in as God having *emptied Himself from being on an equality with God*, and as man of the seed of David according to the flesh."

When Meyer asserts (p. 88) that Christ "*emptied Himself*, and that, as the context places beyond doubt, of the *divine μορφή*, which He possessed, but now exchanged for a *μορφή δούλου*," he simply repeats, with ill-founded confidence, that identification, or, rather we may say, confusion of *μορφή Θεοῦ* with *τὸ εἶναι ἴσα Θεῷ*, which has been shown above (p. 243) to be the chief cause of so much erroneous interpretation of the passage.

vii. In the next clause (*μορφὴν δούλου λαβών*) the action of the participle *λαβών* coincides in time with

¹ Cf. Routh, *Rel. Sacr.*, tom. iii. p. 298.

that of the verb ἐγένωσεν. The state of glory and majesty implied in *the being on an equality with God* was laid aside in the act of *taking the form of a servant*.

On the meaning of "*servant*" in this passage, Bishop Lightfoot writes: "For ἄνθρωπος the stronger word δοῦλος is substituted: He, who is Master (κύριος) of all, became the slave of all. Comp. Matt. xx. 27, 28; Mark x. 44, 45."

But this reference of δοῦλος is decisively rejected by Bishop Bull, *Primitive Tradition on the Deity of Christ*, vi. 21, a passage briefly referred to by Bishop Ellicott: "It is to be observed that *the form of a servant* by no means signifies here a servile condition of man, in as far as it is opposed to the state and condition of a man who is free and his own master, as the heretics contend, and some Catholics have imprudently admitted.

For *the form of a servant* is here manifestly contrasted with *the form of God*. And in comparison with God every creature has the form of a servant, and is bound to obedience towards God. Hence the Apostle . . . presently adds γενόμενος ὑπήκοος, *became obedient*, namely, to God the Father."¹

The full significance of the title *form of a servant*, is explained at great length by Dean Jackson in his admirable *Commentaries upon the Apostles' Creed*, bk. viii. capp. 7ff., where he argues that when Christ "did in the fulness of time take our nature upon Him, He did wholly submit His reasonable will, all His affections and desires, unto the will of His Heavenly Father: and in this renouncing of the arbitrament of His will, and in the entire submission of it unto the will of His Father, did that *form of a servant*, whereof our Apostle speaks, formally consist."

The true meaning of μορφή in the expression *form of God* is confirmed by its recurrence in the corresponding phrase, *form of a servant*.

It is universally admitted that the two phrases are directly antithetical, and that "*form*" must therefore have the same sense in both.

¹ Cf. *Def. Fid. Nic.*, P. i., L. ii., c. 2, § 2.

The argument to be drawn from this acknowledged fact is well expressed by Chrysostom in his Commentary on the Epistle : " What then should we say in answer to Arius, who said that the Son is of other substance (than the Father)? Tell me, what is the meaning of this—' *He took the form of a servant*'? He became man, says Arius. Therefore also *subsisting in the form of God*, He was God. For the word used in both places is *μορφή*. If the one (*μορφή δούλου*) is true, the other is true : *the form of a servant*, man by nature ; therefore *the form of God*, God by nature."

We thus see that the full and proper meaning of *μορφή* is not less essential to the doctrine of Christ's true humanity than to that of His perfect deity, as presented in this passage.

It is sometimes asserted that in taking *the form of a servant* it was necessary to be divested of *the form of God* ; in other words, that the two natures in their fullness and perfection could not exist together in one Person.¹

Thus Dr. Gore² writes, " The question has been asked, Does St. Paul imply that Jesus Christ abandoned the *μορφή Θεοῦ* ?" And his answer is, " I think all we can certainly say is that He is conceived to have emptied Himself of the divine mode of existence (*μορφή*) so far as was involved in His really entering upon the human mode of existence. St. Paul does not use his terms with the exactness of a professional logician or scholastic."

I have always found it dangerous to assume that St. Paul was inexact in his use of language, especially in passages which have an important doctrinal significance ; and I have been led by frequent experience to the conclusion that the fault lay in my own want of a

¹ See above, p. 170.

² *Dissertations on subjects connected with the Incarnation*, pp. 88f.

³ In like manner Canon Gore's Reviewer in *The Guardian*, 1st January, 1896, says that " St. Paul must have been using the word ' form ' in a loose popular sense, as we use the word ' nature.' "

clear perception of the Apostle's meaning, and not in any vagueness of expression on his part.

Such, I believe, is the cause of Canon Gore's difficulty in the present instance.

He has not grasped the true meaning of *μορφή Θεοῦ*, and the distinction between it and *τὸ εἶναι ἴσα Θεῷ*. This is very evident in the following passage, in which the italics are mine, and are meant to call attention to the uncertainty of Canon Gore's interpretation, and his confusion of the two phrases. "The word 'form,' transferred from physical shape to spiritual type, describes—as St. Paul uses it, alone or in composition, with uniform accuracy—the *permanent characteristics* of a thing. Jesus Christ then, in His pre-existent state, was living in the permanent characteristics of *the life* of God.

In such a life it was His right to remain. It belonged to Him.

But He regarded not His *prerogatives* as a man regards a prize he must clutch at. For love of us He abjured *the prerogatives of equality with God*.

By an act of deliberate self-abnegation, He so emptied Himself as to assume *the permanent characteristics* of the human or servile life.

Now though St. Paul, we have been told above, "does not use his terms with the exactness of a professional logician or scholastic," yet *μορφή* must be an exception, for here we are told that he uses it "with uniform accuracy." First then it describes "*the permanent characteristics of a thing*," that is, in this case, "the permanent characteristics" of God; then, with a slight but not unimportant modification, "the permanent characteristics of *the life* of God;" then, with a further change, it means "*prerogatives*," and so at last "the prerogatives of *equality with God*." When we add to this series of transformations Dr. Gore's previous definition of *μορφή Θεοῦ* as "the divine mode of existence," we certainly find a great want of "exactness," which cannot, however, be laid to the charge of the Apostle.

viii. In the following clause the meaning of *taking the form of a servant* is more closely defined by the words ἐν ὁμοιώματι ἀνθρώπων γενόμενος, *being made in the likeness of men*.

The relation of this clause to the preceding is well stated by Bishop Bull, *Primitive Tradition*, vi. 21 : "Christ took *the form of a servant* at the time when He was made man. This is clear from those words of the Apostle, εἰαυτὸν ἐκένωσε, μορφὴν δούλου λαβὼν, ἐν ὁμοιώματι ἀνθρώπων γενόμενος, in which there is a continuous ἐξήγησις, whereby the latter clause is subjoined to the former immediately (ἀμέσως), without the interposition of any copulative conjunction. If you ask how Christ emptied Himself, the Apostle answers, *by taking the form of a servant*. If you ask again, how Christ took the form of a servant, the answer follows immediately, *being made in the likeness of men*, that is, being made man, like unto us men, sin only excepted."

The expression *likeness of men* does not of itself necessarily imply, still less does it exclude or diminish, the reality of the nature which Christ assumed. That, as we have seen, is declared in the words *form of a servant*. "Paul justly says: ἐν ὁμοιώματι ἀνθρώπων, because, in fact, Christ, although certainly perfect man (Rom. v. 15; 1 Cor. xv. 21; 1 Tim. ii. 5), was, by reason of the divine nature present in Him, not *simply and merely* man, not a *purus putus homo*, but the *Incar-nate Son of God*."¹

The plural ἀνθρώπων is used because Christ's humanity represented that which is by nature common to all men. Thus Hooker, *E. P.*, v. cap. 52, § 3, writes: "It pleased not the Word or Wisdom of God to take to itself some one person among men, for then should that one have been advanced which was assumed and no more, but Wisdom, to the end she might save many, built her house of that Nature which is

¹ Meyer, after Theophylact and Chrysostom: compare Fritzsche, *Rom.* viii. 3.

common unto all ; she made not this or that man her habitation, but dwelt in us."

ix. The next participial clause, καὶ σχήματι εὐρεθεὶς ὡς ἄνθρωπος, belonging to the following verb ἐταπείνωσεν, declares what Christ appeared to be in the eyes of men, and so prepares the way for the statement of that further humiliation to which He submitted at their hands. As μορφή and ὁμοίωμα describe what He was in Himself as Man, so σχῆμα denotes the entire outwardly perceptible mode and shape of His existence. This meaning is well brought out by Meyer: "Men saw in Christ a human form, bearing, language, action, mode of life, wants and their satisfaction, etc., in general the *state and relations* of a human being, so that in the entire mode of His appearance He made Himself known and was recognised (εὐρεθεὶς) as a man."

The clause gives no real support to the docetic view of Christ's humanity, which Marcion¹ of old, and Baur in modern times (*Paul*, ii. p. 52. E. Tr.) tried to find in it, but rather implies the contrary. In the whole mode and fashion of His life, in every sensible proof whereby a man is recognised and known as man, Christ was so recognised and known and found as man.

Moreover the docetic view of the passage is utterly excluded by its spirit, as is very ably shown by Dr. Bruce, *Humiliation of Christ*, p. 31: "The form of a servant ascribed to the Incarnate One implies likeness to men in their present condition in all possible respects; for how could one be in earnest with the servant's work whose humanity was in any sense docetic? Then, from the mind in which the Incarnation took its origin the complete likeness of Christ's humanity to ours may be inferred with great confidence. He who was not minded to retain His equality with God, was not likely to assume a humanity that was a make-believe or a sham. It would be His desire to be in all things 'like unto His brethren.'"

¹ Tertullian, c. *Marcion*, v. cap. 20.

x. The words *He humbled Himself* mark a distinct and further step in that self-humiliation which began when He emptied Himself of His Godlike majesty and glory. Both acts were voluntary (as is expressly shown by the use of the word *ἑαυτὸν* in each case), both sprang from the same mind and spirit of loving self-sacrifice, and both were accompanied by the same self-consciousness of deity,¹ which is implied in the fact that, as is shown above, He was still *subsisting in the form of God*. It is this continuous self-consciousness of the Son of God that gives the true measure of His transcendent humility in every act of submission to His Father's will, in suffering patiently endured, in man's ingratitude meekly borne, and finally in obedience unto death, even the death of the cross.

xi. *vv. 9-11.* The extreme and final depth of Christ's self-humiliation in submitting to His shameful death finds its immediate and necessary reward in an exaltation proportionately great. Thus the Apostle's exhortation to the Philippians to *have the same mind which was also in Christ Jesus* is finally enforced by the promise of a glorious reward for themselves, which, though not expressed, is necessarily implied in this supreme fulfilment of the divine law that *he that humbleth himself shall be exalted*. It is important to observe that this exaltation applies to Christ primarily and properly in His human nature only. This distinction was carefully maintained by Athanasius and other Fathers against the Arians, who, denying the eternal generation of the Son, argued from the "*wherefore*" in this passage, that, being exalted as the reward of His work on earth, Christ was "therefore called both Son and God, without being very Son."² To this Athanasius replies that, "As Christ died and was exalted as man, so, as man, is He said to receive what, as God, He

¹ Meyer, p. 97 (E. Trs.): "The self-consciousness of Christ necessarily remained the self-consciousness of the Son of God developing Himself humanly."

² Athan., *c. Arian.*, i. § 37.

ever had, that even such a grant of grace might reach unto us."¹

"For as He was ever worshipped as being the Word, and *subsisting in the form of God*, so being the same, and having become man, and been called Jesus, He none the less has the whole creation under foot and bending their knees to Him in His Name, and confessing that the Word's becoming flesh, and undergoing death in flesh, has not happened against the glory of His Godhead, but '*to the glory of the Father*.' For it is the Father's glory that man, made and then lost, should be found again; and when dead, that he should be made alive, and should become God's temple."²

We may now look back for a moment on the results of our interpretation, so far as they affect the inferences that may, or may not, rightly be drawn from the passage in regard to the Person and Natures of Christ in His state of humiliation.

1. We have seen that the word *ὑπάρχων*, *subsisting*, as used by St. Paul, denotes both the pre-existence and the continued existence of Christ *in the form of God*; pp. 163-169.

2. In illustration and confirmation of Bishop Lightfoot's interpretation of the word *μορφή* as "essential form," it has been shown that this sense was well known to contemporaries of St. Paul, that it was adopted generally by the early Greek Fathers, and advisedly restored to our English Bible by the Translators of the Authorised Version in A.D. 1611; pp. 169-173.

3. We have examined the opposite theory of those who contend that the *form* is separable from the *nature* and *essence*, that they can exist without it, and that in the Incarnation the Son of God did in fact empty Himself of the *form*, while retaining the essential nature, of deity. This error has been traced to its source in the false definitions of Zanchi; and it has been

¹ § 42.

² *Ib.*

shown that the Son could not possibly empty Himself of the *form* of God without thereby ceasing to be God in any true sense, pp. 173-176.

4. Next we have seen that ἴσα θεῷ denotes the manifold circumstances of glory and majesty, or the particular modes of manifestation, which were an adequate expression of the divine nature of the Son, but not inseparable from it, pp. 242-245.

5. It has been seen that the meaning of the clause οὐχ ἀρπαγμὸν ἡγήσατο τὸ εἶναι ἴσα θεῷ, and its direct antithesis to ἀλλ' ἑαυτὸν ἐκένωσε, clearly prove that what the Son of God laid aside at the Incarnation was that equality of conditions, such as glory, majesty, and honour, which He possessed in His pre-existent state, and to which He prayed to be restored, in John xvii. 5 : *And now, O Father, glorify Thou Me with Thine own self, with the glory which I had with Thee before the world was*, p. 246.

6. We have seen how the Apostle sets forth, on the other hand, the fulness of Christ's humanity in a climax advancing from its most general to its most special features,—from that *form of a servant* which includes all God's creatures as *ministers of His who do His pleasure*,—to that *likeness of men* which unites Him with us in our true nature as made *in the image of God*,—and finally to that outward guise and fashion, in which He was seen as a *man of sorrows and acquainted with grief*, humbling Himself yet further in obedience to His Father's will unto death, even the death of the cross, pp. 254-259.

St. Paul has thus shown us in brief outline the essential features of the Incarnation, the perfect Godhead and perfect Manhood united in one Divine Person, and "never to be divided," seeing that the Human nature, denoted in the name Jesus, is now highly exalted in inseparable union with the Divine.

But as to the manner in which those two natures are united in one Person,—as to the degree in which the Deity was limited or the Humanity exalted by their union, *during Christ's life on earth*, the Apostle has said nothing whatever in this passage.

In fact, the precise manner of this union has been justly described by one of the best English divines of a former age as "a mystery the most to be admired by all, and least possible to be expressed by any living man, of all the mysteries whose belief we profess in the Apostle's Creed, the mystery of the Blessed Trinity alone excepted."

If then the conclusions warranted by the language of St. Paul leave much still unexplained and incomprehensible to man's understanding in the mystery of Christ's Holy Incarnation, they may yet be justly said to reveal as much as is needed for the confirmation of our faith.

The continuance in Christ of *the form of God* assures us that at least the moral attributes of the Godhead are faithfully represented in the one perfect image of the Father, His Incarnate Word. And thus His every act of tender compassion, of patient endurance, and of loving self-sacrifice shines out in its perfect beauty as a revelation of God's own nature, and of His gracious disposition towards us.

If, on the other hand, *the form of God* is laid aside in *taking the form of a servant*, and the influence of the Divine nature thus suppressed, as in kenotic theories, the life of Christ on earth may still serve for our example, by showing what *man* may possibly attain when endued with the fulness of grace and power by the Holy Spirit; but by ceasing to be a direct revelation of the character of God it loses the power "to clothe eternal love with breathing life."

¹ Jackson, *On the Creed*, vii. c. 30.

² Hutton, *Theological Essays*, p. 289.

THE BIBLICAL CRITICS ON THE WAR-PATH.

BY PROFESSOR A. H. SAYCE.

From *The Contemporary Review* (London), November, 1896.

SINCE my return from my winter retreat on the Nile I have been somewhat amused at the flutter which my last article in the *Contemporary Review* seems to have excited in certain quarters. After all, it did but state compactly the conclusions to which a fairish-sized book of mine on "The Higher Criticism" had already pointed. But an article is easier to read than a book, and, in replying to an article, a critic has the advantage of being able to say that he is confronted by assertions and not by facts.

Perhaps I ought to say "*the critics*," since those who have been loudest in denouncing my utterances arrogate the title to themselves, and scornfully refuse it to those whose method and logic is not the same as their own. I had hoped to propitiate them by calling them "*the higher critics*," and modestly allowing that archæologists like myself stood on a lower platform; but I find that they will have none of it. They are "*critics*," and "*critics*" only, and those who differ from them are not "*critics*" at all. So I will henceforth drop the epithet of "*higher*," and call them "*the critics*," and their assumptions and dogmas "*the critical method*," since thus it pleases them. Only let it not be supposed that by so doing I grant that they alone possess the critical faculty in the truest sense of the word.

That "*the critics*" would not like the results of archæological research I knew very well. In the preface to the book already referred to—I cannot venture again to call it "*The Higher Criticism*"—I had said that "I am well aware . . . that every effort will be made to dispute or minimise the archæological evidence." And I have not been mistaken. Where the evidence has not been disputed—usually by those who

cannot read a single word in either cuneiform or hieroglyphics—it has been explained away, or else put aside as already stale. If archæological facts cannot be made to harmonise with "critical" theories, so much the worse for the facts.

The forefront of my offending seems to be that I have spoken of "the critics" as a body, without pointing out that whereas Professor X. is disposed to admit that the Israelites were once in Egypt, Professor Y. refuses to make any such admission at all. But I have nothing to do with these distinctions, or with the rival theories of "the critics" within their own microcosm. They all start from the same principles, follow the same method, and agree in their general conclusions. It is against their method and principles that I have raised a protest, and it is their general conclusions with which I have endeavoured to show that archæological discovery is irreconcilable. It is quite indifferent to me whether Dillmann rejects the Grafian hypothesis, or whether Kittel is blamed by his fellow-workers for making too ample concessions to traditional views. Professor Cheyne's reply to Professor Driver's article in the *Contemporary Review* for March, 1894, seems to me quite unanswerable; a few feet forward, more or less, do not matter much when one is in a bog. And I confess that my sympathies are rather with those who do not shrink from frankly carrying out the premises to their full conclusions, more especially when, as in the case of Professor Cheyne, this has always been combined with an equally frank recognition of the facts of archæology.

Ah, but, say "the critics," many of your facts are not accepted by all other scholars; there are many of them about which the Assyriologists, for example, are not agreed. This is rather a dangerous argument for a "critic" to bring forward. I remember the time when it was urged against "the critics" themselves, and when they assured us that it was of no weight whatsoever. So long as the "general" results of "criticism" were accepted, it was said that differences of detail were of little moment. Moreover, there were

"critics" and "critics." There were those whose knowledge and long experience qualified them to speak with authority; there were others who were merely fledgelings, and whose words consequently were of small account.

If this were true in the case of "criticism," it is still more true in the case of a science like Assyriology. Several of the younger students of Assyrian are merely philologists, and not archæologists as well, so that their opinions about archæological facts count for little; and the public has shown a true instinct in preferring the conclusions of those whose acquaintance with Assyrian decipherment and literature extends over a long series of years to the assertions of others whose knowledge of the cuneiform inscriptions is but of yesterday. When we remember how small a portion even of the Assyrian literature that is preserved in the British Museum has as yet been published, it will easily be understood that in the settlement of disputed questions there is needed a long and wide experience of the texts, both published and unpublished. It is not sufficient to say that a particular scholar is an Assyriologist, and that his opinion is therefore as good as that of any other Assyriologist; we must first find out how long he has been an Assyriologist, and what consequently is the worth of his opinion.

"The critics," however, if I may judge from some of the articles I have seen, do not appear to think it necessary that a writer should be an Assyriologist at all in order that he may lay down the law on Assyriological subjects. In a review of one of my books, for example, I have come across the astounding statement that "the mighty king," referred to by "Abdi-Khita" (*sic*) of Jerusalem in the Tel el-Amarna letters, "is the king of Egypt;" and therefore, that Ebed-Tob, or Abdi-Dhabba, as the name ought to be transcribed, was not a "priest-king." Equally astounding to the Assyriologist who has seen the cuneiform text was the statement made in another periodical that Mr. Pinches had not found in certain cuneiform tablets the names of Kudur-Laghamar, Eri-Âku and Tudkhula, the Che-

dor-laomer, Arioch and Tid'al of Genesis. It might have been supposed that when a competent Assyriologist announces the discovery of a new fact, it would not be denied or disputed except by those who knew something of Assyrian. But when the credibility of an Old Testament narrative is at stake, it appears that, according to "the critics," another method of procedure must be adopted.

I cannot help fancying that some of the wrath of which my article in this *Review* has been the cause has been due to an uneasy feeling that, when the facts of Assyriology are in dispute, the public is more likely to credit one who may claim to have been in the forefront of Assyriological discovery for nearly thirty years than those who are wholly unacquainted with the study. And I repeat that, in so far, at any rate, as the Pentateuch is concerned, archæology is on the side of tradition, and not of "the critics." Professor Hommel has stated the case neatly in a passage which I have already quoted elsewhere :

"It is the whole perception of history," he says, "that divides all Old Testament theology into two opposing camps. The genuineness and authenticity of an account like that in Gen xiv. involves a sweeping and destructive criticism of the now fashionable view as to the trustworthiness of Old Testament traditions, and therefore this chapter will ever be a stumbling-block to those critics who will not allow a single line to be Mosaic, not even the Decalogue and the so-called Book of the Covenant ; and accordingly these men for a long time to come will bend their utmost energies, though with little success, to remove this stone of offence from their path."

The concluding words have been curiously verified during the past year.

"The critics," however, who reject the authority of tradition and of the Church, display, nevertheless, a most remarkable respect for authority of another kind. Ancient tradition, the teaching of the Christian Church and its Founder, the facts which the Oriental archæologist ventures to put forward, all count for nothing ; but to the authority of a few scholars of the nineteenth century, mostly of the German race, we are bidden unreservedly to submit ourselves. Graf and Wellhausen, or Ewald and Dillmann, are the gods of the

new Israel. So far as I can gather from the articles I have been reading, the mere statement that a particular view of the Old Testament writings and history has been promulgated by one learned professor, and accepted by another, is considered sufficient to settle the matter. I confess that, if we are to have a Pope, I should prefer the successor of St. Peter to a bevy of German professors.

In fact, these said professors are exceedingly fallible. I will take only one instance; not, perhaps, the most striking or salient, but one which illustrates the desire still felt in certain quarters to get rid of the awkward evidence of archæological discovery and research. Among living Semitic scholars there is none greater than Professor Nöldeke. He is a man of prodigious learning and varied abilities, with a profound knowledge of Hebrew, Arabic, Syriac, and Ethiopic. Yet it is only twenty-five years ago (in the *Götting. Gelehrte Anzeigen* for June 1871) that Professor Nöldeke laid down that the Assyriologists were unscientific and uncritical; that the results they announced were accordingly to be rejected; and that the "mimnation" which they claimed to have found in the Assyrian noun had a highly suspicious air. It was the same Professor Nöldeke who resolved the princes mentioned in Genesis xiv. into etymological myths, and declared the whole account to be unhistorical.

Years ago, in this *Review*, I prophesied that, if excavations could be made on the sites of the ancient cities of Canaan, libraries of clay tablets would be found, inscribed with cuneiform characters, like those in the libraries of Assyria and Babylonia. Of course, "the critics" laughed me to scorn. Had they not proved that there was no writing in Israel before the days of Samuel or David, and that, consequently, what passed for history in the books of the Pentateuch was nothing of the sort? But, in spite of "the critics," the Tel el-Amarna tablets *were* found, and not long afterwards Mr. Bliss discovered a cuneiform tablet of the same age among the ruins of the ancient Lachish. At first the Tel el-Amarna tablets were declared to be for-

geries, and Renan gave expression to the "critical" scepticism on the subject in his annual address on Oriental discovery. Very soon, however, the most stout-hearted champion of the illiteracy of the ancient East was obliged to yield, and "the critics" were forced to admit that on this point, at all events, they had been in the wrong. But it was with a bad grace that the admission was made, for it did not require much penetration to see that the discovery deprived them of what I may term their base of operations. Just as Wolf's scepticism in regard to the age and authorship of Homer rested on his belief in the late date of the use of writing for literary purposes in Greece, so the really strong argument of "the critics" against the Mosaic age and authorship of the Pentateuch was that neither Moses nor his contemporaries could read or write. The Tel el-Amarna tablets have come to upset this supposed fact, and to show that the Mosaic age was a highly literary one. It is amusing to watch the undisguised reluctance with which "the critics" have swallowed the unpalatable fact that, after all, Moses *could* have written the Israelitish law.

On this subject, therefore, I notice that there has been a discreet silence. The vials of wrath have chiefly been reserved for my statement that, if "the book of the Law," "found" by Hilkiah in the Temple and assumed by "the critics" to be the book of Deuteronomy, had been composed only just before its alleged discovery and falsely ascribed to Moses (see Deut. i. 1, xxix. 1, xxxi. 9), it would have been a fraud and a forgery on a prodigious scale. For not only would it have deceived the king into carrying out a reform which he believed to have been required by commands once given to Moses by the God of Israel; it would also have practically created a form of religion which eventually received the sanction of our Lord and His Apostles. No amount of juggling with words can evade the difficulty: the reforms of Josiah and that form of Jewish religion which is presupposed by the creed of the Christian Church were based upon the belief that they had been enjoined by God in a special

revelation made to the great legislator of Israel. That belief was either justified or not. If it was not justified, Josiah was the victim of a pious fraud, and the faith of Israel, upon which Christ Himself put His seal, was founded upon forgery. It is of no use to say that which would be a forgery to-day was not a forgery in the age of Josiah, or that the end in this case justified the means. The argument might be accepted, if we had to do only with a work of secular literature, or with the sacred books of a religion in which we do not believe. We, however, believe, or profess to believe, that in the Pentateuch we have a very definite revelation made by the God, not merely of Judaism, but of Christianity as well; and we, further, profess to believe that the God of Christianity is immutably moral. At all events, those who belong to the Church of England are called upon to hold that Scripture is authoritative because it contains the Word of God, and the Word of God cannot sanction what, in the case of a modern writer—even though he does not claim to be a Christian—would be denominated a lie.

It would be better if "the critics" would frankly face the consequences of their conclusions, and not endeavour to evade them under a cloud of ambiguous words. Some of them have indeed done so, more especially in Germany and America, and it was not the least part of Bishop Colenso's offending that he honestly spoke of "the fictions of the Chronicler." But, to use the language of traditional Christianity, and yet deprive it of all the meaning it ever possessed, savours too much of that system of pious fraud to which "the critics" would ascribe the origin of our present Pentateuch. As Mackay remarks in his "Tübingen School and its Antecedents" (p. 369): "'Clerical writers,' says the *Times*, 'have acquired the faculty of so clothing their own rationalism in the language of Bible and Prayer-book that it is difficult for themselves or others to see any distinction;' and a modern German theologian has the audacity to thank God for this precious gift.'"

I must, then, again ask my "critical" friends two

questions. If the Levitical Law were really the compilation of the contemporaries of Hilkiah and Ezra, and not what it claims to be, a divine legislation given in the beginning of Israelitish history, how can it be regarded as, in any sense, a communication from the God of Truth? And, secondly, why do the English "critics" stop short, in print, at the Old Testament, and not follow the example of their Continental masters by applying the "critical" method and principles to the New Testament as well? If the "critical" method is right as applied to the Mosaic Law, it must be equally right when applied to the Gospels.

But "the critics" have not yet met my objections as to the soundness of their method. Let me, therefore, briefly capitulate them again.

(1) To compare a thing with itself is not scientific. A "single instance" proves nothing. If we are to arrive at trustworthy results in regard to Old Testament history, it must be by a comparison with the historical facts which Oriental archæology is bringing to light.

(2) Oriental writers must not be treated as if they were modern European scholars. Their point of view was different, their public was different, their means and opportunities were different, and their aims were different. The very fact that "the critical" method presupposes that the "compiler" of the Pentateuch went to work with scissors and paste, like a compiler in modern Germany, carries with it its own condemnation.

(3) The minute literary analysis of the Pentateuch would be an impossibility in the case of an English book: much more so must it be an impossibility in the case of an ancient literature, the language of which is but imperfectly known. We know that there are certain plays of Shakespeare, portions of which were written by other hands than his, but he would be a bold man who would say, "Here Shakespeare ends and here another writer begins," and his boldness (as in the case of Dr. Fleay) would convince only himself. The very minuteness and mathematical accuracy of the "literary analysis" proves that it must be a philological mirage. In fact, the history of the "literary analy-

sis" of the Pentateuch resembles the history of the Ptolemaic system of astronomy. As investigation proceeded, hypothesis had to be piled on hypothesis, until at last there was formed a complicated system of cycles and epicycles, coherent in itself and perfect on paper, but, unfortunately, baseless in reality.

But Professor Driver affirms that I am inconsistent with myself, since in my book with the unmentionable title I have said that the Pentateuch is plainly a composite work. The inconsistency may be clear to "the critics" like many alleged inconsistencies in the Biblical writers, but it certainly is not clear to myself. And perhaps I am the best judge, after all, of my own meaning. So far as I can see, because I reject the "critical" analysis of the "Hexateuch," with its P's and Q's, its Elohist and its Yahvist, it does not follow that I do not believe the Pentateuch to be, to a certain extent, a compilation out of older documents, or that I deny the existence in it of passages and additions which come down, it may be, to the age of the Exile. Have I not tried to show that portions of the Book of Genesis are derived from older records, partly Babylonian, partly Egyptian, partly Canaanite, though they have all received a Palestinian colouring, and have taken upon them a Hebraistic form? And have I not further given archæological evidence that these records were written, and that many of them were contemporaneous with the events they described? But between the literary mosaic of "the critics" and the admission that a large part of the Pentateuch was compiled in the Mosaic age out of older written materials, there seems to me to be all the difference in the world.

Professor Driver's charge of inconsistency is like another charge that has been brought against me, that of denouncing "the critics," while I allow myself an equal amount of latitude in dealing with the text of Scripture. If this means that in interpreting the Old Testament we should judicially weigh the evidence and follow it loyally wherever it may lead us, then I must plead guilty to the charge. I believe that we must not apply a different measure to the books of the Jew-

ish and Christian Scriptures from that which we apply to the works of a Greek historian or to the sacred books of the Hindus, of the Buddhists, or of the Mohammedans. But the fault I have to find with "the critics" is that the measure they use is not the same, that the evidence they prefer to follow is one-sided, that the method they pursue is radically false.

Let me take a case in point. The existence of the miraculous element in a Biblical narrative is tacitly regarded as affording a presumption against its historical character. The extracts from the history of Elijah and Elisha in the Books of Kings are held to stand on a lower level of credibility than the extracts from the official chronicles, not because they are inconsistent with known historical facts, but because of the miracles they record. And where the general historical credibility of the narrative is accepted, the miraculous element it contains is slurred over or explained away. Now this is not fair. It means that the critic starts with the *a priori* assumption that a miracle is incredible, and consequently that the introduction of the miraculous element into a story throws suspicion on its truth. Here there is no impartial weighing of the evidence; the mind of "the critic" is already biassed against the strictly historical character of his authorities.

I cannot help suspecting that those who complain of the "latitude" I allow myself are still under the influence of certain theories about "inspiration," which were widely current in Protestant Christendom not very many years ago. The Bible, in fact, was looked upon as the Rig-Veda is by orthodox Hindus. It was supposed to have been dictated word for word by the Spirit of God to certain machine-like writers who were termed "inspired." The eternal Word of God, who St. John tells us, is our Lord Himself, was transformed into a book, which every ignorant and untaught "believer" imagined himself at liberty to interpret. Every word, if not of the Authorised English Version, at all events of the Hebrew and Greek texts, was held to be

equally divine in origin, equally authoritative, equally fitted to be the starting-point of a new sect.

This mechanical theory of inspiration has never been the doctrine of the Church of England, though it required a judgment in the ecclesiastical courts to bring the fact home to the mass of the community. The so-called "pivot Article" carefully and in measured words excludes it, while the very word "inspiration" as applied to a book is unknown to the Anglican liturgy. Like the rest of the Catholic Church, the English Church knows only of "the inspiration of the Holy Spirit" in the hearts and the souls of men.

In so far, therefore, as the latitude of "the critics" is a latitude which is inconsistent only with the mechanical theory of inspiration, I am wholly at one with them. Indeed, I am ready to acknowledge how much useful work they have done in bringing home to the mind of the people the fact that the Bible is a collection of literature belonging to various periods, written by men of various minds and abilities, and relating to various branches of literary culture. I can see no reason why God's will should not have been communicated to man through a drama as well as through a psalm, through myths as well as through parables. But the myth must not claim to be true history, must not involve historical consequences which are compatible only with its being true history. In such a case the myth would be of the nature of fraud, and anything of the nature of fraud is impossible in what the 20th Article calls "God's Word written," if we really believe that God's Word is there. If we are to revise our views of the historical character of the Pentateuch, we must at the same time revise our Church formularies.

Whether or not the doctrines of "the critics" can be made to harmonise with the doctrine that Christ was "perfect God" as well as "perfect man," is a question which must be left to professed theologians to answer. I believe that the limits of what is termed "the Kenosis" have never been defined by the Church, and it is, perhaps, fortunate that such is the case. Still

it is difficult for the mere archæologist to understand how those who hold the advanced "critical" view can reconcile it with the language used of the Mosaic Law by our Lord, unless, indeed, modern "criticism" has discovered that the traditional teaching of Christianity in regard to its Founder means the opposite of what it has hitherto been supposed to signify, or that the Gospels are, like the Books of Moses, "uncritical" compilations of doubtful facts.

ANANIAS OF SHIRAK UPON CHRISTMAS.

BY F. C. CONYBEARE, M.A., FELLOW OF UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, OXFORD.

From *The Expositor* (London), November, 1896.

(In two parts.)

PART I.

PREFACE OF TRANSLATOR.

[The following homily is translated from an Armenian writer, Ananias, son of John of Shirak, who lived early in the seventh century. In a brief autobiography which this writer left behind him, he describes how as a youth he went to the Greek city, Theodoupolis, in search of a mathematical teacher, named Eliazar. Thence he went to another teacher called Christodotus, in fourth Armenia, for six months. Thence to Constantinople, and then to Trebizond, where he remained eight years as the pupil of a certain Tychicus, learned in both Greek and Armenian, who lived by the shrine of S. Eugenia. Tychicus, he says, had a vast library full of books apocryphal and open, ecclesiastical and profane, scientific and historical, medical or chronological. During the reign of the Emperor Maurice (who died 602), Tychicus had visited Antioch, Jerusalem, Alexandria, Rome, Constantinople and Athens in pursuit of learning and of books.

Thus it is conceivable that Ananias had access even to primitive sources now lost to us, and in forming an estimate of the genuineness of the long citation from Polycarp of Ephesus with which this homily concludes, this should be taken into account. I drew attention to this citation of Polycarp in the *Guardian* (1894, July 18), and Professor Harnack, in his *Theologische Literaturzeitung* (1894, No. 23), wrote in regard to it as follows: "What is related of Polycarp may be believed at a pinch, if we compare the information given by Irenæus about the communications of Presbyters of Asia Minor; and if one thinks how early questions must have emerged about the day and

month of important events in the life of Jesus ; and if one also takes into account—supposing one esteems them to be genuine—the alleged *Responsiones* of Polycarp handed down by Victor."

Professor Harnack, however, leans against the genuineness of the citation, because he cannot believe the account given by Ananias in his other tract on Easter of the calendarial activity of Aristides the Apologist, and of Leonidas, father of Origen. Surely this is hypercritical. Ananias may have been wrong about the latter, and yet have been right about Polycarp ; especially if—as Harnack admits—the citation is on other grounds likely to be genuine. In any case, the citation—of which the text is, unhappily, it would seem, mutilated—must be read as part of the whole treatise, before its authenticity can be properly appraised. And I cannot but think that the general tone of the treatise is greatly in favour of it. For it proves the absolute *bona fides* of Ananias—proves that he is not making it up, but is quoting some document which claimed to be Polycarp's own writing. And this document was probably a note in some old calendarial document which he had read in the rich library of Tychicus of Trebizond. It is just in such documents that one expects to find preserved old opinions of the earliest fathers. This very treatise of Ananias seems to have formed, along with his other treatise on Easter, the exordium of an elaborate calendar, which, some one unspecified constructed of a cycle of 532 years,¹ from the year 828 of the reckoning of Alexandria to the year 1360 of the same. This we learn from the close of his treatise on Easter.

Of almost equal interest with the excerpt of Polycarp is the allusion to those, whoever they were, who declared that the celebration of the birth of Christ on December 25, and apart from the feast of the baptism, was invented by the disciples of Cerinthus. If so, we can understand the hesitation of the orthodox Church to adopt our modern festival of Christmas. Probably the real significance of the early union of the Nativity with the Baptism is that the Baptism was regarded as itself the true Birth of Christ. Docetic opinion may have been too strong in the earliest Church to permit of his carnal or earthly birth being celebrated at all. Sometime in the fourth century the very early reading in Luke iii. 23 : "Thou art My beloved Son, *This day have I begotten Thee*," was erased from nearly all codices ; no doubt because it was the stronghold of those who had declared the Baptism alone to be the true nativity of Jesus Christ. Ananias also gives us some new data as regards the gradual diffusion of our modern Christmas.

The citation from Makarius I., Patriarch of Jerusalem, is also interesting ; and not less so the information about the lectionary of Cyril of Jerusalem. The latter is new. As for Makarius, I hope shortly to publish in English the full text of his *Encyclical to the Armenians* on the feasts which should be observed in the church.—FRED C. CONYBEARE.]

THE DISCOURSE OF ANANIAS, CALLED THE COUNTER UPON THE EPIPHANY OF OUR LORD AND SAVIOUR.

We have taken much trouble and pains about the

¹ *I.e.*, one Dionysian cycle, so called.

holy festivals of God ; and this is the result at which we have arrived, and which we are become worthy to set forth.

First, the Festival of the Birth of Christ our God, which is the beginning of festivals, and of our yearly [cycles],¹ and chief of the fixed feasts (= *πανηγυρίδων*), and of all commemorations of Christ. The Festival of the holy Birth of Christ, on the 12th day before the feast of the Baptism, was not appointed by the holy apostles, nor by their successors either, as is clear from the canons of the holy apostles. For it is written in the 6th chapter of the canons as follows :² that the apostles appointed and laid it down firmly, that the Festival of the Birth and Epiphany of our Lord and Saviour, the chief and first of the festivals of the Churches [should be] on the 21st day of the month Tobeth, which is 6th of January, according to the Romans.

But many years after their fixing the canons, this festival³ was invented, as some say, by the disciples of the heretic Cerinthus ; and was accepted by the Greeks, because they were truly fond of festivals and most fervent in piety ; and by them it was spread and diffused all over the world.

But in the days of the holy Constantine, in the holy Council of Nice, this festival was not received by the holy fathers ; but they appointed the festival to be held in accordance with the aforesaid canon of the holy apostles. And it is clear from the letter of the blessed Makarius, patriarch of Jerusalem, which he wrote to the country of the Armenians concerning the institution of the holy Baptism. For he was one of the 318 holy fathers of Nicæa. And it is written as follows in

¹ Words in square brackets have been supplied by the translator as being necessary to the sense.

² In the Arm. Edition (Dashian, Vienna, 1896), and in the MSS. of these apocryphal canons the citation given by Ananias occurs in Can. vii.

³ *I.e.*, the separate commemoration of the Birth—apart from the baptism—on the 12th day before the 6th January—Christmas Day as we now call it.

the sixth chapter of his letter of command and counsel (*or* encyclical).

"But there is the ordinance of baptism of the holy font, and there is the earnest observance of the three festivals. Wherein our race¹ is most eager with genuine piety² to cherish the observances dedicated to God, and to carry out the great pattern of the salutary mystery, which was fulfilled in the holy and famous days. And this celebration they are very zealous to keep in the holy places of Christ; and all Christians who fear Christ must also fulfil in them (?in themselves) the calling of baptism at the holy epiphany of the birth of the Lord, and of the saving passover of the quickening passion of Christ; and of Pentecost full of grace, when the Divine descent of the vivifying overflowed among us. And of these several festivals, of the birth and baptism, you must understand the significance, in order that you may zealously carry out the same. For on the same salutary day with the illumining birth of Christ is our expiatory birth of the holy font also fulfilled. For on the same day He deigned to be baptized because of His descent unto us. For it was not that He was Himself in need of cleansing; but He desired to cleanse us from the dross of sin, he that with a loud voice cried out, saying: "Except a man be born of water and of spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God," in order that, being born along with Christ in one and the same fashion, we may also be baptized along with Him on the day of His birth.

Next in the quickening resurrection of Easter by mortifying our sins in the waters of the font, we become imitators of the mortification by death of our Lord Jesus Christ; and by the triple immersion, being buried in the waters of the holy font, we symbolize in ourselves baptized the three-days' burial of our Lord. And this also the divine apostle shows, when he says: Buried with Him in baptism, let us become imitators

¹ *I. e.*, the Christians, who are commonly spoken of as a *genus* or race in the earlier fathers. The Arm. text has *megazd*, a *vox nihili*, for which I read *mer azg*, and render accordingly.

² Reading *ntermouthiun* for the *vox nihili mrtouthiun*.

of the likeness of his death ; that by the newness of the resurrection we may become participators with Him in life eternal.

But on the grace-bestowing day of sanctifying Pentecost was the bright revelation of the quickening Spirit, which, in the form of fiery tongues, descended on the apostles ; vouchsafing to them [that] laying hands on the baptized [these shall] receive gifts from the Spirit of grace.¹ After the same pattern we also, on the same day, lay hands on the baptized and bestow the same spirit. Of this we fulfil the pattern with unfailing care, that we may become perfect. So far Makarius.

Gregory Theologus also bears witness with Makarius on this point in regard to celebrating the baptism in three feasts, in his discourse "upon baptism," in which he assails those who are supine about baptism, and says : "Thou makest this and that a pretext, and allegest the excuse of sins. Thou sayest : I wait for the epiphany of the Lord, for the resurrection of the Lord, which to me is more precious. I wait for the Pentecost. It is better to be illumined with Christ ; with Christ to arise on the day of resurrection ; to celebrate the manifesting of the Spirit. And then what ? The last day will come on in a way which thou wilt not know, and in a season when thou art not thinking of it. Thou hast all thy time for baptism, because thou hast all of it also for death."

But after him Saint Cyril succeeded to the patriarchal throne of Jerusalem, and to the throne of the holy Constantine succeeded his son Constantius, along with his brothers. They say that he believed in the heresy of Arius. However, he did not fight against the truth ; but left both sides alone to do as they liked. Whatsoever any one pleased he kept, whether orthodoxy or kakodoxy. In his days this festival² was admitted in the royal court ; and in all places where any one chose to keep it they kept it freely and openly, except in the metropolises of the four Patriarchs, who had the

¹ Such seems the meaning of an unusually cumbrous sentence.

² *I.e.*, the modern Christmas on December 25th as opposed to the older joint festival on January 6th.

thrones of the holy Evangelists. For at that time they had not forcibly transferred the throne of St. John from Ephesus to Constantinople. And [this] is clear from the canonical disposition of lections of St. Cyril. For therein it is written thus : " That on the 25th of the month of December is the feast of David and Jacobus, which day in other cities they make the birth of Christ." About this the Greeks say as follows : that because the patriarch, with all the clergy and the bulk of the congregation, repair to Bethlehem and there keep feast, therefore the few priests who remain in the city celebrate the feast of David and Jacobus ; as if the lections only belonged to the city. And they contend that this is why he wrote the words " in other cities," as if having Bethlehem in view. But this argument no really sensible person ever adopted. For if we admit it, for what reason did this same Cyril fix the canon of the birth on the 6th of January ? For at the beginning of the canon we find it written thus : that " the feast of the holy Epiphany is kept in January, on the 6th of the month. They shall assemble in the shepherd's dwelling,¹ and repeat the following canon ; and then in Bethlehem and in the cave." Here then you see that he appoints both feasts to be celebrated on one day ; and who will be so rash as to find any fault with the blessed Cyril or with his dispositions ? And who [was ever] like him with Christ ? And to whom else did such a sign ever appear [as to him] ? and by whom else were so many myriads ever illuminated ?² Methinks not even by St. Paul. For on the day of the apparition of the luminous cross, countless myriads of myriads believed, of Jews and of heathen. For until the day of Constantius, son of Constantine, the Jews were prevented from going down to Jerusalem, but by him many Jews were freely allowed to congregate, and they fixed their abodes in Jerusalem. But also the Jews who were in Tiberias and in other cities were congregated there for the festival. And, moreover,

¹ Perhaps this was a building traditionally associated with the shepherds who watched their flocks by night.

² *I.e.*, baptised.

many of the heathen were collected there because of the general concourse [who] were come to trade ; and these, having seen the divine apparition, believed in Christ ; and all hastened to be baptized, so that the fonts and cistern tanks were not enough for them ; till at last the blessed saint ordered the great baths which were called the public baths¹ to be cleansed, that they might there carry on the saving rite of baptism. This was the third sign which happened in Jerusalem on the day of the holy Pentecost. But I think it was on a loftier scale than the first, in so far as, though the descent of the Holy Spirit on the Apostles was seen by all in the midst of a multitude of assembled Jews and men of many other races, who in the Acts of the Apostles are mentioned by name, yet on that occasion the Spirit was bestowed on the Apostles alone. But the occasion of this multitude being assembled for holy baptism was also much more sublime than the second occasion, which Josephus relates : how that on the day of Pentecost a quaking and panic took hold first of the priests and then of the whole congregation. Then also on a sudden a voice was heard from the very depths of the temple, saying these words : We depart hence, we depart. But on this last occasion the powers of the Lord do not come forth from beneath our feet, but were plainly manifested to come from above, and were [? + not] bestowed in secret ; so much so that the blessed Cyril was prompt to write to the Emperor Constantius a letter of entreaty summoning him [to be] pious and instructed in the things of God. For he thought that by his supplication he would gain his salvation ; by laying before him the divine sign which had occurred, and the multitude of those converted, as if to say, Why art not thou also with them ?

¹ The Armenian has "*demesosin*," a misspelling of "*dêmosios*."

"AS UNKNOWN AND YET WELL KNOWN."

BY ROBERT A. WATSON, D.D.

From *The British Weekly* (London), November 5, 1896.

IT is part of the difficulty of living that we often misapprehend other people and are often misapprehended by them. Every man lives more than half in the shadow. Without falsehood we conceal; without hypocrisy we appear other than we are. Who can express all that is in his heart? Can the sorrowful man pour even into the kindest ear the full tale of his sorrow, or the hopeful man reveal that which keeps his life bright and keen? He who has a good purpose will not go proclaiming it upon the house-tops, nor will he who is afraid take all the world into the secret of his fear. We expose neither the best nor the worst of ourselves, but wisely hold something in reserve. It is not time to speak, and we refrain; or the time comes, and there is no fit audience. Often disappointed in our plans, often happily set free from miserable dread, we have learned by experience to be reticent. Others may see that we are cheerful or depressed; but they cannot trace the one mood or the other to its secret spring. Their conjectures may slander us, or on the contrary put to our credit feelings better than we have. We cannot help it. Were we to explain, our explanations would be imperfectly understood and create fresh mistakes, or they would be heard with incredulity.

To live is difficult; to take others into the full counsel of our life is impossible. We pass through changes every waking hour, and in sleep there are phases of which we are unconscious. Who can make known that swift process of personal evolution which is to himself a mystery? Let him tell all he knows about his state one day, it would be necessary, the next, to make a new confession; and in making it fresh conditions would arise. Speech cannot keep pace with life, even if it were well that it should; neither, indeed, can manners, looks, demeanour. The garment remains,

the habit remains, but the personality is ever moving. We catch in some time of grief the air of weariness, and it partly continues when the mind recovers buoyancy. And the will has often to be enlisted in maintaining some disguise. We have to cheer others when our own hearts are heavy. They must not know our secret forebodings, for, if they did, they would be overwhelmed. Or again, they must not know how sanguine we are ; for, if they did, they might become incautious. So it is not always in a vain show we walk. Rather is it in a brave endeavour to do our part well as servants of God and helpers of our brethren. There is a courage of the humble, a gaiety of the sad, which may be called the triumph of faith and of spirit. Duty is chosen and done in despite of the natural temperament and the hindrances of fear.

In a thousand ways this virtuous self-concealment enters into the finest lives and the best actions of those lives. It is, in effect, the issue of the believer's determination to become God's instrument in efforts that are beyond his own strength. We suppress our moods that God may be seen ; we are content to be misapprehended that Christ may be felt. It is a good advice of Sir Thomas Browne : " Be substantially great in thyself, and more than thou appearest unto others ; and let the world be deceived in thee, as they are in the lights of heaven." Though naturally submissive, a man should be bold for truth's sake, and though naturally timid he should, in virtue of his faith, inspire others with hope. Appearing less than you are or more than you are, so remaining practically unknown, you may render high service to your fellow-men.

The desire to be known, widely spread in our time, is apt to destroy this virtuous self-concealment. It often leads to hypocrisy, the morbid pretension to qualities that are not ours either by nature or by grace. " The dispersing and scattering our names into many mouths we call making them more great," says Montaigne, " but the excess of this disease proceeds so far that many covet to have a name, be it what it will. For myself, I care not so much what I am in the opin-

ion of others as what I am in my own. Strangers see nothing but events and outward appearances. They do not see my heart, they see but my countenance. It is not for outward show that the soul is to play her part, but for ourselves within, where no eyes can pierce but our own." The Judge is God; and it is little for him who is approved by God to be unknown among men, still less for him who is convicted by God to be known among men. The hypocrite plays in every sense a losing game, which is also dastardly and impious.

We naturally think it a hard fate to live and die unknown; but there is refuge in the quiet trust that God is not unmindful of our toil, our constancy, our endurance. This, however, is not a conviction to which all who believe can easily attain. There are many who cannot see what God is doing for them. The slow progress of their life, the seeming failure of much they strive to effect, may leave them, as one year follows another, doubtful whether they have not believed in vain. Regarding this Maurice de Guérin once said: "I have devoted myself to many things, but have succeeded in none; with a semblance of aptitude, I remain useless, and I suffer in a position almost without resources. But who knows if, all superfluous as I seem to be in the world, God does not extract from me some good of which I am unaware; if, unknown to me, He has not endowed me with some virtue, some hidden influence for the good of men." Here is the ultimate reassurance which defies every cavil of doubt. But the enjoyment of it depends on profound humility. "This constant thought that I am ignorant of the good work for which I am destined by the Lord will incline me to respect all creatures, to bow before all beings, to conduct myself upon the earth as in a temple where all things fulfil a sacred ministry, where the atoms of dust are so many Levites whose innumerable legions prostrate themselves and pray in the chinks of the pavement." Do we toil in the shadow, and does the task we labour at never make itself so visible that a single observer stands to ask, Who did this? Yet, if

the mind of Christ is in us, we cannot utterly fail. Some note of praise no other voice can strike will be our witness in the eternal chorus.

There are men who ought to be known, and Paul was one of them. It was in this consciousness, but without complaint, he spoke of being unknown. Yet by whom was he unknown? By thousands who were themselves unknown, or known only for a day as the priests of vain idolatry, as captains of Roman cohorts, as men of fashion and rank in cities that were soon to perish, or as courtiers of the Cæsar. Partly because he was more than he seemed, partly because his enthusiasm was for One far greater than himself, with a greatness not of the world's kind, Paul had no recognition. The Athenians heard from his lips the wisdom of God, and called him a babbler. To Festus, when he spoke of the sufferings of Christ and the resurrection, he appeared beside himself. Beneath the field of view of those who directed affairs, misapprehended by his own people, in respect of his great ideas without proper sympathy, Paul laboured and taught and suffered. But its judgment was with the Lord and his work with his God.

Can we say that still the best work is that which brings no fame, no material reward, but is too holy, spiritual, divine for praise? Scarcely. There are so many observant eyes and so many kinds of popular sympathy that few who effect anything at all escape notice. The publicity of our time exalts in one circle or another those whose work is good and generous as well as those who demand notoriety and make a trade of applause. Yet it remains true that the best things are done without a thought of popular recognition. That may come as a result; it does not enter into the motive of the doer. More and more it is becoming clear that if we seek the spiritual good of men and the purity of faith, we must put away all care of what the public judgment will be. The hope of an abiding memorial in the records of human achievement has tormented many. But who in his life-time can have that hope assured to him? Keats ordered the words

to be engraved on his tomb—"Here lies one whose name was writ in water." What he sought appeared to be denied him. The world began to know him only when he was passing away. Yet the world knows its poets better than its prophets, whom it often mistakes for charlatans or fools.

But Paul says, "As unknown and yet well known." He turns the tablet suddenly and confronts us with a paradox. In the midst of men he stands consciously apart, with a life no companion, even the most intimate, rightly comprehends. History is being written, and his name does not occur in it. The great are praised, but he has no mention. The very churches he has founded are passing him by, and seeking other guides and teachers. Yet he claims that he is well known. What does he mean?

If any man lives indeed, he expresses himself in some truth he has enforced, some idea to which he has given shape and power. A man who is personally unknown may by blow after blow fix some truth on the mind of his age like a nail in a sure place. And with that he abides; where that truth is known, he is known. His spirit, his personality are identified with the principle for which he has contended. Such a man was Paul, and he was aware of the fact. A servant of the Lord, a helper of the everlasting gospel, he had the prevision that his work would enter into the life of the human race, and that the doctrine for which he was anathematised would be his lasting memorial.

It is good for the world that some are well known, and that the knowledge of them widens with the influence of their teaching from age to age. That is true of Paul. And yet, if he could tell us his thoughts now, he would say, "Still I am unknown. There was much in my experience, in my heart, that has never been expressed. You speak of me with more praise and reverence than are my due; with less direct and kindly sympathy than my difficulties and trials should evoke. But I care not for my own sake. I am too well known. Let Christ be known, to Whom it was my office and my glory to point the world. I count all things but loss

for the excellency of the knowledge of Christ Jesus my Lord."

It is best to be known for this, that one has cast the weight of his courage and endurance, his eloquence and faithfulness, his intelligence and zeal into a cause which no human name can represent, an enterprise born of no human purpose, limited by no human scheme. Men are great as they serve God, immortal as they are ministers of His eternal grace. And all such hold their own fame of little account. They lay their honours at the feet of Him Who is Lord of life. Toiling in prominence or obscurity to bring help to the weary and light to those who walk in darkness, their personal hope is in the memory and the judgment of Christ.

THE CRISIS IN MISSIONS.

BY AMORY H. BRADFORD.

From *The Outlook* (New York), November 14, 1896.

CHRISTIAN people should not deceive themselves concerning the crisis through which foreign missions are passing. Probably at no time since the work began has there been more need of coolness and consecration, of wisdom and experience, in those to whom is intrusted the management of such enterprises. No criticism on those who have this difficult work in hand is intended by the suggestions which I shall make. The difficulties in their way are not the result of false methods, but rather of the changes which have taken place in the world during the past twenty-five years. Africa is now nearer to Great Britain than the latter country was to America half a century ago. Currents of travel are moving backward and forward. The West is influencing the East, and the East the West. Forces of civilization not always helpful are sweeping over the unevangelized nations, while influences of barbarism are coming in reflux tides to all Christian lands. The missionaries in China have had a terrible time during

the last few years. Viceroy Li speaks in complimentary terms concerning missions and missionaries, but has not been able to protect their lives in his Empire. The story of Turkey needs only to be mentioned. It is a serious question whether missions will be allowed to continue there. It is also a serious question whether, if Russia gets the upper hand, Protestant missionaries will be any better off than they have been under Turkish misrule. The difficulties of the situation in Japan are already well known. There is no violence there, but many of the Japanese feel that the time is already at hand when missionaries will be no longer needed, and there is not the slightest doubt that their influence, for the time at least, has greatly waned. The crisis is upon us in China, Japan, and Turkey. It is seen in violence to the missionaries, in the growing independence and impatience of the native people, and in the loss of that feeling of respect for missionaries which formerly existed in some lands, and the lack of which is perhaps more noticeable in Christian nations even than on the foreign fields.

The great debts of the missionary societies have not all been due to hard times; they are also the result, in part, of a failure of enthusiasm among those who formerly gave liberally. When we ask for the causes of the change in Christian countries, they are not difficult to find. They are three in number. The first is the influence of travel. Round-the-world parties of travel are constantly on the move. The steamers of the Pacific are now almost as full of tourists as those of the Atlantic. The tides of travel have reached China and Japan, as well as India. Travellers usually stop at hotels kept by foreigners who have little sympathy with Christian work. Guides are furnished from the hotels. They belong to the usual hotel clique, which is not, to say the least, conspicuous for its piety. The travellers cannot speak the language. They have not much time to investigate the work of the missionaries. They talk a little with the few natives they meet, jump to the conclusion that missions are doing nothing, and come home with loud words concerning the extent of

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their travels, and the foolishness of the attempt to evangelize non-Christian nations. As a matter of fact, most of those who go around the world return as ignorant of what missionaries are really doing as they were when they left their homes. That, however, does not nullify their evil influence, for in proportion to their ignorance they are often loud and positive in affirmation.

Then, as the Christian religion has entered other nations, so there is coming, by travel and by literature, an influence from other religions toward Christian countries. That is seen in many ways. The literature, especially of India, is much sought by certain classes in England and America. It is full of beautiful sentiments, and those are exploited as possessing as fine a moral quality as the teachings of Christ. Those who read forget that the heart of Christianity is the revelation of redemption, which is not found in the literature of any other religion.

That omission, however, is overlooked, and the ethical precepts of the sages of the East are extolled as being quite as noble as anything taught by Christians. That leads many people to the conclusion that the ethnic religions are as good as Christianity for those who have been trained in them.

These facts, combined with the recent hard times and the materialistic tendencies of our age, have brought upon us a serious crisis in missions. It may be said that the number offering themselves for the foreign field is larger than ever. That is probably true, and never were abler or more consecrated candidates ready to undertake the service. It may be also said that there is another side, and that the enthusiasm in the churches is now evidently rising. That would not be quite true. There is great enthusiasm on the part of a goodly number, and there is little doubt that it will grow; but it is not universal, and should not blind our eyes to the facts.

In view of this crisis, a few suggestions may not be out of place. How should it be met? It seems to me that the very first thing is to recognize that the methods

of one time are not adapted to all times, and that the conditions under which missionaries labor have greatly changed during the last few years. This fact was clearly stated in the report of the recent Deputation of the American Board to Japan. While it did not recommend the withdrawal of the missionaries, it did recommend, for a time at least, a change in methods of work. It may be of interest to many in this country to know that exactly the same conclusion has been reached by a very different company of people. The Keswick Convention in England represents the extreme evangelical party of the various denominations. That Convention is a union movement, and gathers those who are literalistic in their interpretations of Scripture, who believe in what is commonly called "the higher life," and it is not a body to which we should have looked for radical changes in methods of work. But it has come to the same conclusion as the Deputation to Japan. I have been informed by one of the representative managers of the movement that they have decided that their work in the future, for a while at least, should be by special deputations; and I may say, without mentioning the name of my informant, that I was authorized by him to make public use of this information. The difference between the recommendation of the Keswick Convention and that of the Deputation of the American Board would probably be that the former would put less emphasis upon the importance of large ability and able scholarship. My study of this question—and it has not been entirely limited—convinces me that the time has come for the adoption of at least one new method by our missionary societies. The number of missionaries ought not to be diminished, and in many lands ought to be increased, but for the present emphasis should be placed on the sending of able and consecrated preachers and teachers from Christian countries for occasional service in missionary fields. If the missionary societies could unite in sending several delegations, in which should be such professors as Drs. Fairbairn, George Adam Smith, A. V. G. Allen, President Strong, of Rochester, Presi-

dent Buttz, of Drew, and some such preachers as Bishop Hurst, Drs. Henry Van Dyke, Washington Gladden, J. M. Buckley, and D. A. Greer, to conduct conferences for the benefit of the missionaries and native workers, there would soon be a revival of respect for the appeal which Christianity makes to the educated and thinking classes, which just now is sorely needed.

And, once more, if deputations of eminent evangelists, like the Revs. W. Hay Aitkin and F. B. Meyer, of England, and D. L. Moody and B. Fay Mills, of the United States, could hold conferences for the deepening of the spiritual life among missionaries and native evangelists, the tide of enthusiasm which seems to be ebbing would, I am persuaded, quickly begin to flow. The question of language is not an insuperable barrier to such conferences. Through no fault of the missionaries, the people among whom they work have come to distrust their ability to teach. Let world-wide scholars become temporary missionaries, and the great preachers of the world give a few months every few years to such service, and there is little doubt that the influence of their example and the inspiration of their teaching would make an almost immediate change in the whole missionary problem. The need of missionary effort was never greater; the only question is one of method.

The suggestions which I have made are those already recognized by many eminent students of this problem, and wait only to be put in operation. More than one well qualified to express an opinion has affirmed that the result would surely justify all the effort and expense which would be required. Why cannot our American missionary societies inaugurate this movement? To do it to the best advantage there should be co-operation. Denominational lines are not drawn as closely on the mission fields as at home, and co-operation would be welcomed by most missionaries. Only one point needs to be especially guarded: the authorities at home should follow the judgment of the missionaries and the native workers as to whom it would be wisest to ask to undertake such service.

Those on the foreign field can better decide as to whom would have largest and best influence than those at home. In order to the successful carrying out of any such plan, the first step should be consultation with the missionaries and native workers ; and the next step should be following their advice, so far as possible.

THE JUBILEE OF DR. RICHARD S. STORRS.

BY THEODORE L. CUYLER, D.D.

From *The Independent* (New York), November 19, 1896.

FIFTY-ONE years ago, during the vacation of my last year in the Princeton Seminary, I was strolling with my old friend Littell of the *Living Age* through the leafy lanes of Brookline—near Boston—and we came upon a new church edifice. My Episcopal friend said to me : " That is Harvard Congregationalist meeting-house ; they have lately given a call to young Richard Storrs, who has just graduated from Andover Seminary." He was twenty-four years old when he undertook that first pastorate—having been born in his father's Braintree parish on the twenty-first of August, 1821. After graduating from Amherst College at the age of eighteen, and teaching at Williston Academy, he began the study of the law with Rufus Choate in Boston. If he had pursued a legal career, he would have reached the top round in his profession, and perhaps won a seat alongside of Edmunds and Sherman in the United States Senate. The Divine Spirit guided him to the pulpit ; and after three years at Andover he began his ministry at Brookline. It was destined to be a brief one ; for the newly organized Church of the Pilgrims in Brooklyn got their eye on him, and on the nineteenth of November, 1846, he became their pastor. They thank God that he is their pastor still, and are preparing to celebrate his Jubilee.

The first twenty-five years of his Brooklyn ministry Dr. Storrs devoted to hard study, diligent pastoral service, and the writing of elaborate discourses, which

were as brilliant in their diction as they were soundly evangelical in their theology. At the end of that time he had built up a powerful church, and had published an able work on "The Constitution of the Human Soul." Then his health gave way, and for a time, as he said to me, he "lived on bare nerves." In February, 1861, he fled away to Europe (his first and only visit), and for fifteen months he threw off the harness, took a vow of silence, and gave his overworked nervous system a long, thoroughly recuperative rest. He left home a depressed invalid; he returned home—at the age of fifty-one—a giant. All the grandest intellectual achievements of his life have been wrought since he crossed what certain fools have called "the dead-line of fifty!"

One of the first things which he did after his return was to throw off entirely the bondage of manuscripts and give his mind the unhindered freedom of the eagle. In addition to a remarkable fluency of speech, he had carefully formed his style by over twenty years of pen-work, and he had also the inestimable advantage of a marvelous memory. This enabled him to draw at the moment from all his accumulated stores of thought. One of his extraordinary feats of memory was his delivery of the two masterly lectures on the "Ottoman and the Muscovite," which abounded in names and dates; and yet without a scrap of notes the majestic stream of his stately eloquence flowed on for two hours with the flow of a mighty river. In his passion for historical studies, in his brilliancy of style, and in his gift of memory, Dr. Storrs has always reminded me of Lord Macaulay.

Of his peculiar qualities as an orator, both in the pulpit and on the platform, the chief thing to be said is his power to captivate and astonish his auditors. The first hearing of him has always been a surprise. When he preached, many years ago, in the chapel of the Princeton Theological Seminary, that acute theologian, Dr. Charles Hodge, who listened to him for the first time, went up to him after the service and, with deep emotion, said: "Dr. Storrs, I thank you

for the noblest sermon I have ever heard." Dean Stanley, on the last day of his visit to us, said to me : " The man who has most impressed me in this country is your Dr. Storrs." The Dean had heard him at the Century Club in New York ; and the combination of graceful, efflorescent speech and of musical voice was to him a revelation. Dr. Storrs had never been heard in England, and when I expressed to him my regret that he did not consent to deliver the opening sermon before the London Congregational Council, he replied : " Oh, I am tired of these ceremonial occasions." Yet it has been on such occasions as his eulogy on the astronomer, Professor Mitchell, the centennial address in 1876, the Phi Beta Kappa oration at Harvard, and his various presidential addresses before the American Board of Foreign Missions, that he has wrought his grandest achievements of lofty eloquence. Some other men have a command of language ; but language has commanded him when a torrent of great thought was pressing to his lips.

All the land knows that Dr. Storrs is a famous preacher, an accomplished scholar and a fascinating orator ; but all the land does not know what a big, warm heart throbs in his stalwart frame. Sheer brain-power is not enough to make a great minister of Jesus Christ ; that requires heart-power, also. Some of the private letters with which my old friend has enriched our friendship during the last thirty years have the effusive sweetness of the honeycomb. When a severe affliction once smote the four corners of my house, he was one of the first to come with words of condolence. Many of his own flock have had a similar experience. He has not always given full swing to his emotional nature ; but when he has done this—as in the peroration of his magnificent address at the Congregational Council in Clinton Avenue Church—he stirred the fount of tears in every heart. Dr. Leonard Bacon said to me afterward : " That was the most wonderful speech I ever heard in a deliberative assembly." It is a pleasant thing to be respected ; it is more pleasant to be admired ; but it is the sweetest thing of all to be

trusted, and to be loved ; and Richard S. Storrs wears this crown on his good gray head.

That Brooklyn should be honestly proud of her most gifted and distinguished citizen is a matter of course. His whole long public life has been spent in her, and for her highest interests. He has presided over her "city missions ;" he has given the chief impetus to the building of her Historical Hall, and to other public improvements ; his loyal affection for her has made him oppose her absorption in a vast civic conglomeration. His face is as familiar as the City Hall ; and when he appears, we are all ready to rise up and do him reverence. It is the pure, noble, unselfish, conscientious, God-fearing *man himself* that is more eloquent than any words that have flowed from his lips, even when touched with celestial fire.

Dr. Storrs is just reaching the grand climacteric of his career, and is completing his half-century of splendid service. Perhaps he may desire to emulate the example of his venerable father, who spent over sixty years in the charge of the parish of Braintree. Or he may prefer to lay down his pastoral cares and devote himself to a ministry-at-large, and reach with his eloquent tongue the young men in our institutions of learning, and vast audiences in our chief cities. It is hardly in human nature that his loving flock, who have sat at his bountiful board of "royal dainties" for fifty years, should consent to this act of self-abnegation. But wherever he shall spend the remainder of his days—whether as the pastor of the "Pilgrims," or in a far wider spiritual bishopric—our fervent prayer is that he may long continue to be what he is to-day—the acknowledged king of the American pulpit.

CURRENT THOUGHT.

The Reconciliation Really Wanted.

THE process of reconciling religion with one thing and another

has been going on for a long time. We have had revelation and science so many times and so indissolubly reconciled that why lectureships have to be

founded to keep on doing it, and books published every year to do the job over again, has come to be one of the mysteries of life. Reason and faith have been again and again as sweetly harmonized as decrees and free-will used to be in New England sermons. Culture and Christianity, the higher criticism and plenary inspiration, German theology and English heads—these are some of the wedded pairs which the reconcilers have presented to us, with such a honeymoon glow about them that one is naturally surprised so often to find the loving couples in the divorce courts a few months later.

With all this labor to bring conflicting theories into accord, it is not a little strange that more attention has not been given to devising a practical *via media* between the Church and a large and growing class of men and women whom the Church needs and who need the Church. We refer, of course, to those who have broken, and perhaps broken sharply and absolutely, with the traditional theology, yet who retain a warm sympathy with all forms of Christian philanthropy. Their humanitarian instincts are strong. They see how immeasurably the Church surpasses all other institutions in its power of organizing and directing charity. Many of them would gladly join themselves to the noble works undertaken in the name of Christianity, yet find the intellectual repulsions on either side too much for them. If they frankly avow their theological coolness, their charitable zeal is more than suspected of being chilled. Great numbers of them exist in every city who neither are comfortable nor are made comfortable in close association with church philanthropists.

Advances might well be made by the Church, we should think, in the way of at least recognizing the facts. It is hard, perhaps, for any strenuous thinker to admit that one who radically differs with him can be wholly a good man. Theologians have always been among the most strenuous thinkers in this respect. They have clung too much to St. Augustine's rough-and-ready way of calling non-Christian virtues "splendid vices." It would be better if they could follow that milder Father who spoke of the "mind naturally Christian." At any rate, we submit, it is only lingering prejudice that refuses to see the vast amount of human sympathy and charitable impulse that might be enlisted in the philanthropic work of the Church, if only some tolerable way of practical co-operation could be found between those who are intellectually wide asunder.

There is, of course, a type of free-thinking which is as bitter and repellent—and, let us add, as contemptible—as any theological dogmatism that ever vaunted itself. George Eliot had a great dislike of the free-thinkers who discredit free thought, and wrote of a prospective visit from an offensive female of that variety: "If there is one attitude more odious to me than any other of the many attitudes of 'knowingness,' it is that air of superiority to the vulgar." Yet she herself was a conspicuous instance of the very alienation from the Church of which we have been speaking. Her break with Christian theology was complete. Yet it left her tolerant and it left her tender. In this respect her nature was far stronger and richer than that of her husband, Lewes, who never got beyond the "Ecrasez l'infame!" stage. George Eliot,

however, translator of Strauss and Feuerbach that she was, resolutely determined to live without opium as she was, could write in 1862 :

"Pray don't ever ask me again not to rob a man of his religious belief, as if you thought my mind tended to such robbery. I have too profound a conviction of the efficacy that lies in all sincere faith, and the spiritual blight that comes with no faith, to have any negative propagandism in me. In fact, I have very little sympathy with free-thinkers as a class, and have lost all interest in mere antagonism to religious doctrines."

We venture to say that many men and women, in a humbler way, exhibit such a union of wrong ideas with right sentiments, and we repeat that the Church ought to discover some way of utilizing and developing the sentiments without demanding the surrender of the ideas. Perhaps, in the infinite division of labor of our time, and catering to all classes, we shall yet see room made for heretical Christian workers!

The kind of advances which the heretics, on their part, should be ready to make is indicated in an address which Mrs. Humphry Ward lately made at the opening of a charitable bazar in Chesterfield, England. She said the great need of the day was not criticism or rationalism. Those we had in abundance, and their result we must never abandon. But we need to give these new points of view their new expression in enthusiasm and imagination. Life is something more than an animated discussion, and social needs will not wait for the next German monograph on the Assyrian tablets. It is for the Church to annex the new enthusi-

asm and faith of science to the old humanitarian impulses of the immemorial Christian religion. To accomplish this, either side must be prepared to relax a little its traditional stiffness. Those outside must acknowledge the tremendous prestige and advantages of the church in all the work of social relief and betterment. Those inside must not call down fire from heaven on those whose sympathies are Christian if their convictions are pagan. The opportunity for a *rap-prochement* was never greater; and the Church leader who can bring it about will deserve and win more glory than any triumphant reconciler of them all.—*The Evening Post, N. Y.*

THE speculative thinker has a large place in the life of the Christian world—larger than sometimes we are aware of; but his true function is not that of a dreamer who constructs a logically consistent system; his true function is that of a prophet who discerns more deeply than others the tendencies and needs of his times, and brings the truth of revelation into relation with the present life of the world. A few years ago an attempt was made in some theological seminaries to bring them into closer touch with the current movements of thought by establishing chairs on the relation of science and religion, or by special courses of instruction upon sociological questions. That is very well in its way, but it does not go far enough. Our seminaries need to become veritable schools of the prophets, in which men are taught to understand the Gospel in its relation to present tendencies of thought and the problems of current life. One of the most cheering indications of the time is the circumstance that

the spirit of these institutions is being increasingly regulated by this conception. The young ministers of the next twenty years will find when they enter upon their work that there will be less contrast between their ideas and the actual facts they will confront. —*The Watchman, Boston* (Bap.).

The Peril of the Ballot.

It would be difficult to prove that any particular style of government on earth exists by "Divine right." God is behind government, and some government must be, but not necessarily the precise type that exists in any sphere. The monarchist, the oligarchist, or the republican settles down into the comfortable belief that his own special system of national organization is the best framable. Fourth of July oratory for generations has confirmed Americans, for example, in the reassuring conviction that that is the ideal government where all men, possibly all women, vote. In other words, the notion of the "Divine right" to rule has been shifted from the single autocrat on the throne to the many-millioned autocracy at the polling booths. Where one man has asserted of his own personality, "I am the State," the new cry, which has become a many-chorused shout, declares, "We are the State." Ballot has banished baton, and autocracy is merged in democracy.

And yet it is a fair question whether we have not "Hurrahed!" too soon for an unrestricted democracy. Intelligent thinkers in large numbers are working away from the idea of universal suffrage. Is not this talk of the right of every man to vote likely to delude? What right has any man to vote unless

he votes right? Why should the least intelligent and worthy members of society rule over the better classes in the community? Do we want so much government that what results is misgovernment, or worse, no government at all?

These questions cannot safely be disregarded. We have been entertained with a great deal of talk about the right of the ballot, and with some talk about the privileges of the ballot, but what is urgently needed is an earnest consideration of the dangers and the duties of the ballot. For as things are, the ballot is as much the menace as the strength of American institutions. In our sentimental desire to conserve the rights of the individual man and to provide him with a liberty which practically amounts to a license, we have endangered the very existence of the republic. We have already so much and such indiscriminate suffrage that suffrage of any kind has become jeopardized, since where too many people of the wrong kind govern nobody is governed very long. Free voting if it prove also false voting inevitably in the long run of history wrecks the polling booths and scatters the electors by the bayonets of a dictator.

If this be the peril of the ballot a triple remedy might be proposed for the safeguarding of the republic. For one thing an effort might be made to restrict the suffrage in future. This sacred possession of the ballot we have simply thrown in the dust for the swine to trample on. There is no reason why illiterate and pauper foreigners, many of them previously driven by European oppressions into the madness of a bitter anarchism, should be allowed to enter the United States and so quickly "naturalize" them-

selves here to the extent of acquiring a privilege of voting on the policy of our government while as yet totally unnaturalized to the American system and spirit. We have given welcome upon our shores to the miscellaneous dumpage of Europe, and it is no wonder that in consequence the land suffers from political malaria. What is demanded is discriminating restriction of immigration and the enactment of laws which will make it impossible for foreigners to gain the franchise until after long years of residence and the furnishing of indisputable proofs of loyalty to republican institutions.

But a more radical remedy still than this of future restriction would look to an immediate reduction in the number of voters. There are perhaps nineteen millions of men of voting age in the United States, of whom fourteen millions may be registered voters. Of these certainly fifteen and possibly twenty-five per cent would be adjudged by any candid observer utterly unfit ever to cast a ballot. Moreover, no avowed anarchist should ever be permitted to vote. For there is no sense at all in allowing a man whose first act if he rose to power would be to overturn American institutions to exercise the suffrage under those institutions. An excellent authority on things human and Divine has declared that a house divided against itself will fall, and there is no reason for believing that a bisected bulwark can stand any better in America than in Judea. The anarchical subdivider of a nation's strength is not a fit trustee of the ballot. And so a voter convicted of taking a bribe should be debarred at least for several years from the privilege of balloting.

How to justly effect such a reduction is certainly a serious

question, and it is rendered all the more difficult by the tendency in certain quarters to extend the franchise. But whether woman suffrage is or is not coming, indiscriminate woman suffrage could no more be advocated by any enlightened patriot than universal man suffrage.

And if the total number of voters is not to be reduced attention becomes all the more urgently directed to the voters themselves; and the grave question occurs, What can be done with these civic materials already on hand? If "we are the State," what sort of a human content is going into that plural autocracy? Is not the nation called upon by every consideration of expediency as well as of duty to educate its own voters to an honest and intelligent use of the opportunities of citizenship?

To this question true patriots will give but one answer. The low-typed voter must be brought up to the average level, and the average level lifted higher toward the planes of an enlightened and well-balanced Christian sentiment, or the republic will inevitably decline. How can this be done? "By education," say some who are partly wise. "By religious education," say others who are wisest of all. For mere education of the intellect, while tending to somewhat secure the public mind from those aberrations to which even the religious type of citizen is liable, never can accomplish the complete results of civic development, which must take place on ethical and Christian lines if it is long to continue on any lines at all.—*The Observer*, N. Y. (Pres.).

The Princeton Sesqui-Centennial.

PRINCETON is, in the popular estimation, synonymous with con-

servatism; but we need constantly to remind ourselves that conservatism is the mother of progress, and that all true radicalism is a greater conservator; that progress in the future grows naturally and normally out of the past; and that a root which has in it no growth and a branch which has lost its vital connection with the root are equally in the way that certainly leads to death. The function of a great university is to learn from the past the lessons which experience teaches, and teach them to new generations; it is to discern beneath the ever-varying phenomena of life the eternal reality of which they are the manifestation. It is, therefore, at once scientific and religious; scientific because it ascertains and interprets the laws which phenomena reveal; religious because these laws are themselves expressions of God, and a comprehension of them is a comprehension of Him, and His presence and authority in the world. Thus the evolution of great universities is itself the evolution of the community in which they live and which they influence. The university which is true to itself is at once an inspirer of progress and a conservator of truth, a leader toward a better future, but a cautious and wise leader, never forgetting the lessons of the past.—*The Outlook*, N. Y. (Undenomin.).

PRINCETON's traditional attitude with regard to the great mysteries of being is well known. It has always stood, and bids fair to stand in future for many generations, for those fundamental truths in philosophy and religion which are distinctively theistic and Christian. Its ethic is from Galilee. There are indeed tendencies in American university

life that awaken anxiety in the minds of all earnest people. Speaking for Princeton, her honored president confesses that he does not know what part that university will play in the movements of the future which will open the twentieth century, but urges that whatever be its pace in the sphere of religious intellectualism, Princeton may keep the place she has already held, remembering that no part of her work is more important than that which addresses itself to the Divine side of man's nature. It is to be hoped that these weighty words will be heeded. Culture needs the cross more than the cross needs culture. Men need to hear of a way of salvation as well as of a way of truth. Accordingly, all Christian people may fittingly join in the prayer that breathed in the concluding words of President Patton's vigorous sermon when he expressed the hope that "the day may never come when it can be said of those who hold high places in Princeton University that they are ashamed of the Gospel of Christ."—*The Observer*, N. Y. (Pres.).

PROFESSOR WOODROW WILSON struck a true note in his oration last week at the Princeton sesqui-centennial, when he remarked that it is a chief function of the university to bring the influences and attainments of the past into relation with present life. "Un-schooled men," he said, "have only their habits to remind them of the past, only their desires and their instinctive judgments to guide them into the future; the college should serve the State as its organ of recollection, its seat of vital memory." In our discussions of education we are too apt to overlook this function of the college. We are never weary of

insisting that the information and discipline which the college imparts are of the highest worth. We do not always remember that it is through the college that the student comes most effectively and vitally into relation with the results of human thought and experience tested on the broadest fields. Perhaps there is no graver peril in our national life than the self-sufficiency which leads great masses of our people to assume that the past has nothing of value to teach us; that the social and economic laws are as unexplored as the virgin soil of a Western prairie; that the whole world is before us, and there is nothing in the past worth serious attention. — *The Watchman, Boston* (Bap.).

The Election.

We have every four years what might be termed a revolution. We have just had one. But, thank God, our revolutions are peaceful. It is greatly to the credit of the American people that they can come forth from a hotly contested election, such as we have recently passed through, and settle right down to the duties of their respective callings, and pursue again the even tenor of their ways, as though nothing unusual had occurred. It is certainly a remarkable triumph of self-government by a people who retain a high regard for the supremacy of law, and a deep reverence for the authority of God. It proves that the people have not lost their faith in God nor their confidence in His Word. May they never lose it. It is generally conceded that that nation is likely to fare the best and live the longest whose sense of the Divine sovereignty and immanence in the affairs of men is the keenest. While there is much wickedness,

there is also much righteousness in the land. Grace abounds over the aboundings of sin.—*The Christian Intelligencer, N. Y.* (D. Ref.).

THE *Catholic Review*, not being a partisan paper, has kept out of this political campaign; but now, at the close of the arguments, it is free to offer those of its readers who have the ballot a few words of advice: 1. Vote. Every citizen, who is able to vote, ought to vote. Don't shirk this civic duty. 2. Vote as a patriot, and not as a partisan. Wear no collar. Be no organization's slave. The politicians may want to preserve their "regularity;" but citizens whose living does not depend on the possession of a public office should glory in their independence from trammels on their conscientious convictions. 3. Vote according to your own judgment. Don't vote for a ticket simply because your father used to belong to the party that it now claims to represent. Make up your own mind. Don't let any one newspaper do your thinking for you. 4. Vote for the best candidates and the best platform. Consider the welfare of the whole country. 5. Vote as if the election depended on your one vote, and you had the sole responsibility of turning over the government to the administration of the President of your selection. The right of suffrage is a sacred trust, for the exercise of which every citizen will yet have to render an account. 6. Neither offer nor accept a bribe to vote. This suggestion is not needed for the regular readers of this paper; but we cannot lose this supreme chance to denounce corruption at the polls as a great crime, and to foster a correct public opinion in detestation of venality in elec-

tions. 7. Neither coerce nor suffer coercion at the ballot-box. The votes cast should be free. 8. Be prepared to accept the will of a majority of the electors. The republic will survive, and God still lives and rules the universe. — *The Catholic Review*, N. Y. (R. C.).

The Bible.

SPEAKING of an address delivered recently by President Schurman, of Cornell, the New York *Churchman* (P. E.) says: "It is very disappointing to those who belong to the Church that points to the Bible as a book containing the Word of God to see the head of a large and influential American university speaking so loosely and recklessly about this venerated volume. Much of what Dr. Schurman has said about the oracles of God seems to be merely the outcome of irresponsible garrulity, redeemed by a somewhat sanctimonious tone from rank irreverence. He practically denies the authority of Holy Scripture; he positively throws doubt upon what, in speaking of historical documents, we would term their veracity. He puts the inspired writings on the same footing as 'Macbeth' and 'Faust.' The Scriptures, he holds, do not deal with matter of fact. Their truth lies in the way in which they 'evoke a response in your nature, satisfy your feelings and imaginations.' It is odd to hear a metaphysician assert that because the Bible acts on the feelings it is not, therefore, an appeal to the intellect, as if any emotion is ever felt without consciousness, and consciousness could be destitute of ratiocination. The intelligent reader of 'Macbeth' is affected so as to be convinced of the heinousness and horror of murder, and he who sees 'Faust' played

is urged to avoid licentiousness. Many more, however, have been deterred from homicide and immorality by the authoritative commands uttered by God, and repeated by His Church, 'Thou shalt do no murder,' 'Thou shalt not commit adultery,' 'Vengeance is Mine, saith the Lord,' than by any merely literary emotion roused by a work of imagination. Besides this, literary beauties have influence only on a minority of mankind. The most ignorant can understand the laws of the Decalogue, and to measure the power and influence of the Bible on the susceptibility to artistic charm which its readers possess would make the Word of God mean one thing to one man, and something else to his neighbor."

WHATEVER else the Bible is, it certainly is a collection of Hebrew literature. Its very name indicates this, for the word Bible is a transliteration of the Greek word *Biblia*, meaning, not book, but books. It is a collection of books, and includes legend, law, official records, historical fact, historical fiction, epic poetry, lyrical poetry, proverbial philosophy, drama, patriotic and religious addresses, biography, letters, and dream literature. The notion that this conception of the Bible as literature is inconsistent with its inspiration, its Divine quality, its spiritual usefulness, is due to a relic of the Puritan notion which confounds truth and fact, and would banish the voice of imagination from the world. God speaks to all faculties and in all voices; that is the lesson which we are learning in our larger conception of the Bible as literature. This conception is bringing back the Bible to us. Much of it has been a lost book. The whole library has stood on our shelves

or laid on our parlor-table, but to many a devout soul the Bible really used has consisted of the Gospels, certain of the Psalms, a few extracts from the Pentateuch, and some from Paul's Epistles. The new study of the Bible has opened other books to us, and is still opening other books to us.—*The Outlook*, N. Y. (Undenomin.).

Christian Unity.

CHRISTIAN unity continues to be a prolific theme. As if there could be a greater calamity to the Christian world than unity, in the meaning almost uniformly implied. No; we want diversity with the legitimate divisions and contentions which it involves, conducted, of course, not by bores, but gentlemen. The hundred sects that divide Christendom may in some instances have their mission of evil; but in the average result they are the salvation of the Christian cause. Get a hundred people together, "in convention assembled," every one saying, "yes, yes," to what every other person says—no division, no friction of conflicting judgments, nor shock of honest contention—why, such an estate would make earth worse than pandemonium. Error abounds, and so does truth—let them meet and "fight it out;" yes, even if "it takes all" one's lifetime. Christian unity is a contradiction in terms, for Christianity came indeed from a Prince of peace, but who, in exact accord with His pacific mission, brought a sword. Malaria has its haunts in the unruffled waters. Better the tempest that keeps the waters sweet than the calm that breeds pestilence. Do not say that the unity urged is simply that of the spirit.

All this preaching of unity cannot have reference to a truth which nobody can dispute or doubt.—*The Christian Leader*, Boston (Univ.).

ALL Christians are bound to work as well as pray, we are told, for unity; it is wrong simply to devote ourselves to the work which lies before us in the Church, leaving the achievement of Christian unity to God in His own good time. Something like the position thus condemned has been that which we have advocated. But it is a mistake to suppose that this is to abandon the idea of working in behalf of unity; on the contrary, we hold that such a course is the surest way to a real and enduring unity. When the tendencies of the Christian world about us are carefully considered—tendencies in which are involved the disintegration of everything that has stood for cohesion and fixity, the dissolution of all creeds, of all definite faith—it becomes a matter of plain common sense that a church which shows the greatest power to resist these tendencies, which continues to assert the ancient, unchanging faith with unquestioning conviction and enthusiasm, will appear to men of sincere mind as a rock of safety. Thus from the Church may shine forth a beacon light, assuring men that within her precincts may still be found something strong and assured, the "kingdom that cannot be moved." This is the true ideal of church unity, to provide a nucleus of such magnetic force that it shall draw from all quarters all earnest souls who seek the unchangeable truth of God.—*The Living Church*, Chicago (P. E.).

Christian Science.

BUT a few years ago the publication of the "Origin of Species" raised the question of the relation of Christianity and science. The discussion was continued for several years. It was easy to consider the relation as one of conflict. If one took the dogmas and creeds of church and councils as the distinguishing element of Christianity, based, as many of them were, on an imperfect cosmology, such a conflict was inevitable. When Christianity was viewed in its larger aspect, as a special development of universal religion, rooted and grounded as that is in human nature, and inseparable from it, the conflict ceased. But there was another aspect in which Christianity and science came together, not in conflict, but in profound sympathy. By a perfectly natural growth, the adjective "Christian" has come, also, to mean humane. This is a beautiful testimony, embodied in language, to the elements of tenderness and pity which cluster round the name of Jesus, and of that brotherly love and sympathy which have flowed from the deeper springs of Christian life and history. If at any time science, with heartless or thoughtless curiosity, has come into conflict with this humane spirit, it has deserved rebuke. But the thing to be remembered, and over which we may well rejoice, is that science and Christianity have joined hands in the mitigation of human suffering—that in this respect applied science is applied Christianity.

A noteworthy illustration of this has just been given in the celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of the application of ether to surgery. This discovery and ap-

plication marked a new epoch in modern science. The use of chloroform first applied by Sir James Simpson, and announced in 1847, was another step in the same direction. Some Christians were indeed opposed to its use, as they were opposed to lighting-rods; but the great boon of modern anaesthesia was soon recognized. Not only did it remove pain, but it also greatly lessened the percentage of deaths in critical operations. It took away the necessity of haste. As it produced perfectly muscular relaxation, all the severe measures which were previously taken to secure this as a preparation for an operation, and which let down the whole tone of the patient, were no longer necessary. Thus the discovery of anaesthetics has not only relieved human pain, but it has prolonged human life.

In a notable number of permanent historic value, the New York *Independent*, with commendable enterprise, published September 12th, 1895, fourteen articles from physicians and surgeons, covering a dozen pages of that journal, and setting forth the wonderful development of modern surgery. In this collection of papers, one may find abundant evidence of the development of Christian, or humane, science. Along with anaesthetics, we have the use of antiseptics, the essence of which, as stated by Dr. James E. Newcomb, is cleanliness. "It is not here *next* to godliness: it, and *it* alone, is godliness."

"The Good Samaritan," says Dr. Newcomb, the originator of "First Aid to the Injured," "poured wine and oil into the wounds of the traveller on the Jericho road. It is believed that the wine was some alcoholic preparation, used with a crude idea of

antiseptics, and the oil some one of the balsamic class of remedies which were formerly supposed to assist the healing of wounds. While we have not improved upon his spirit of willingness to aid, we have certainly improved upon his surgical methods. We have better antiseptics than alcohol, and now carefully avoid gumming up wounds with balsams." The good Samaritan knew nothing about bacteria; or, if he did, he had simply heard the word as the name of his staff or cane. In these days the surgeon, far more punctiliously than the Pharisee, must wash his hand from all uncleanness. It is not a religious rite, but a humane one. The success of modern surgery in dealing with cancer in its earlier stages, when it can only be successfully treated, in the operations for appendicitis, the honor of introducing which belongs to American surgeons, in the remarkable operations on the brain and spinal cord, the advance in ophthalmology and orthopædic surgery, the applications of electricity, the use of bone-grafting and skin-grafting, the progress in obstetrics, the development of modern hospitals and diet-kitchens, the establishment of schools for trained nurses, and, finally, the great improvement in modern surgical instruments, are illus-

trations of the humane advancement of science in the treatment of disease.

These humane developments of modern science are likewise illustrations of mind-healing of the highest sort. Mind has been put into these discoveries and inventions. They represent a vast amount of human thought applied to the alleviation of suffering. Every advance in this direction becomes the permanent property of the race. It is a contribution to a body of knowledge and practice, not the special patent of a local practitioner. The great generosity of the medical profession in this direction must be recognized. Whatever value we may ascribe to the services of modern "mind-healers," so called, the growth of modern surgery is itself a supreme illustration of the application of mind and faith to the cure of disease. Undoubtedly, medical science is yet to make advances in the application of psychical forces to physical diseases; but any form of modern sectarianism, whether under the name of "faith healing," "mind healing," or "Christian Science," which discards or ignores the developments of modern surgery is faithless and mindless, we had almost said heartless.—*The Christian Register, Boston* (Unit.).

LITERARY DEPARTMENT.

BOOK REVIEWS.

CONDUCTED BY REV. CHARLES R. GILLETT, LIBRARIAN OF UNION
THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY.

THE GOSPEL FOR AN AGE OF DOUBT. By HENRY
VAN DYKE, D.D. New York : The Macmillan Co.

One reads such a book as this with delight. It leaves the impression of absolute candor. In form it is a series of earnest and sympathetic addresses to the theological student in the Yale Divinity School. The author frankly says, however, that in its preparation he had in mind a much wider audience. It is a diagnosis of an age and a prescription for its spiritual maladies. As such it is clear that he hoped that it would arrest the attention not only of the doctors actually experimenting in their fields, but that it would be heeded by the patients themselves. It ought to be heeded, and unless we greatly doubt it will be. Surely there are few men better qualified to speak. He quotes with approval the terms in which Dr. Gordon describes the man who alone is to-day qualified to speak upon questions of theology. "He must know the method of physical science and be in sympathy with its great generalizations ; he must be at home in the kingdom of thought, familiar with the noble and fruitful ideas in philosophy, a companion of the imperial thinkers of the race ; he must have at his tongue's end the salient facts of Christian history ; he must be a master of the new biblical learning, deeply versed in the classical literature of the world, and, in addition to all this, he must have original power."

Few men bring to their task more of these qualifications than our author. Indeed, the astonishing thing is that one who has held sympathetic converse with so many thinkers in so many regions, and has understood them, should still preserve such a distinct and fragrant personality of his own. His style is next thing to faultless. His spirit is such that one lays down the book

with regret that he does not personally know the man. That the students who heard the lectures will be the better men and the better preachers for them no one could doubt.

And now, having said this much, we raise the question: Is his diagnosis of the spiritual condition of the age a correct one? Are the medicaments which he would exhibit the ones indicated? To begin with, *is* this an age of doubt? If so, doubt concerning what? doubt on the part of whom?

"The age stands in doubt. Its coat-of-arms is an interrogation point rampant above three bishops dormant. And its motto is *Query?*" So says the author. As an epigram nothing could be neater. But is it true? Will he deem it only another particular instance verifying his general assertion if we venture to doubt it? We do doubt it very much. Of course "obstinate" questionings are awakened in every age, because obstinate mysteries are ever alluring and ever evading. But this is not an age of doubt nor is it an age of despair, our author to the contrary notwithstanding. It would be truer to characterize it as an epoch of confidence and of hopefulness. The voices of life are multitudinous. One hears that which he listens for. One catches the tone of the company he keeps. One with so wide an acquaintance in contemporary literature as Dr. Van Dyke must needs be intimate in many circles. Certainly he must be welcome in all. No doubt melancholia and scepticism are fellow-guests in the circle in the company whom he bids speak as the mouthpieces of the *Zeitgeist*. But are Andrew Laing, Cotter Morrison, Zola, Henry Beauchamp, Mrs. Ward, and Thomas Hardy the ones who actually speak out the thought of the age? These are not the books which the average man reads. Look at the following paragraph from a literary journal of this week:

"Mr. Harold Frederic informs us that 'vast editions are becoming more and more the rule as the area of England's new novel-reading class expands. Unwin throws 35,000 copies of Crockett's "Gray Man" into the market in a lump, and Skeffington got 36,000 of Marie Corelli's ridiculous "Murder of Delicia" subscribed in advance of

publication. By combining English and American subscriptions we get, too, a first edition of 45,000 for Ian Maclaren's "Kate Carnegie."

We do not say much of Marie Corelli, whom we perceive to be in all things too superstitious. But what of the others? They are saturated with faith and glow with hope. There is a literary circle, and that of the finest, whose tone would give the impression which our author takes to be characteristic of the age. They are sad and they are palsied by doubt. But we cannot help thinking that it is the melancholy of the study, the cloister, the closet. Their too sensitive souls are distressed at life's miseries, and they shrink away from contact with it and busy themselves with academic questions. But the man in the street, in the office, in the smoking-room, in the shop does not talk so, act so, feel so. It is true that he has come to doubt, or, rather, to disregard many articles of the faith which he inherited. But as his creed has lost extensively it has gained intensively. So far from this being an age of doubt concerning God or man, it is the age which is glowing with the sense of the rediscovery of God and thrilling with the new-found sense of humanity.

It cannot be altogether well, therefore, for the preacher to preachers to lie under a misapprehension concerning the very age to which he bids them preach. This misapprehension runs through the whole book. The author ought not to be the man to fall into this error. He is so touched with the fine issues of life; his own spirit is so free and joyous; his insight into reality is so keen, one is amazed to find that he does not discern that he himself and those like minded with him are the true voices of the time-spirit.

The gospel for the age which he sketches is, as it seems to us, a true evangel. This is because of qualities in that gospel which he brings to light. His illumination is that of the poet and litterateur and not that of the logician or theologian. It is all the truer for this. It would be easy enough for the adversary to set his teaching about moral freedom over against that of the Westminster Confession or the XXXIX. Articles,

and to show that if the author is right they are wrong. It would be easy enough to show the inconsequence of his argument for the doctrine of the Trinity. One could drive a coach and four through his doctrine of the Kenosis. But who should do so would simply manifest his own lack of spiritual vision. For what the author says illogically and in the teeth of his confession is God's truth as a man of God sees it. It is the truth for all ages. It will be seen and welcomed by the men of our time chiefly because it is not an age of doubt.

S. D. MCCONNELL.

Brooklyn.

BRIEF REVIEWS.

From the firm of Hinrichs, the publishers at Leipzig, comes an interesting announcement of a new volume by Dr. Resch, the well-known author of "Agrapha" and of "Ausserkanonische Paralleltexthe zu den Evangelien." The present work is based upon Luke i.-ii. and Matt. i.-ii., use being made also of other texts bearing upon the infancy of Jesus, drawn from canonical and extra-canonical sources. This mass of material has been subjected to a critical examination with a view to discover the nature and character of the written source of what is known as the Gospel of the Infancy. New points of view are promised, together with glimpses into the literary basis upon which the Gospel story is founded. In view of the interest aroused in Germany and elsewhere by the discussion of the passage in the Apostles' Creed: "Born of the Virgin Mary," this investigation of the literary relationships of the various accounts of the child Jesus will be of importance to a wide circle of readers. The general scope of the book is shown by the following outline of its contents as indicated by the headings of the sections: 1. The Problem. 2. The Sources of the Gospel of the Infancy. 3. The Language of the Original Source. 4. Texts and Discussions (in seventeen sections). 5. The Hebrew and the Greek text of the

תולדות ישוע המשיח = *Bιβλος γενέσεως Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ*. 6. The Relation of the Original Account to the Gospel Literature (to the Earliest Gospel = *רִבְרִי יֵשׁוּעַ*; to the Synoptic Gospels; to the Prologue of John; and to the Apocryphal Gospels of the Infancy). 7. Influence of the Original Account upon Apostolic Doctrinal Writers. 8. Influence of the Written Source upon the Earliest Church Confession, the Apostles' Creed (*symbolum apostolicum*). 10. Literary and Critical Results. There is no doubt that the volume will call for wide notice, as it will doubtless arouse no mean attention and perhaps adverse criticism. The field is a somewhat new one, and it is a subject in which the author is an acknowledged master, having investigated so carefully the obscure records of the earliest period of Christian history.

Another work by the same author comes to us as a part of Gebhardt and Harnack's "Texte und Untersuchungen." It is a monument of rare diligence and scholarship, and is the fourth in a series devoted to the same general subject: *Ansserkanonische Paralleltexte zu den Evangelien: zu Johannes*. After an introduction dealing with the question of attestation by early Christian writers, the author proceeds to quote from the literary monuments of the primitive Church, those passages which are most closely allied to the expressions of John, the same being arranged verse by verse as they occur. The conclusion at which the author arrives as to the author of the Fourth Gospel is worthy of translation. He says: "At all events the internal witness of the Johannean Gospel compels us to recognize its author to have been a person of such pre-eminent spiritual greatness, of such a richness of independent historical recollections, of such certain cognizance of everything in reference to Jesus' person, life, and career, of such deep perception and of such complete and hearty consecration to his beloved Master as can be presupposed only in the case of one of the foremost apostles." (Same publishers. 7 marks.)

In the same series of "Texts" is a historical brochure

of nearly two hundred pages devoted to Eusebius' account of the Palestinian martyrs (*Die Palästinischen Märtyrer des Eusebius von Cäsarea*), by Bruno Violet. It is a monograph which presents the reader with an accurate version of the Syriac text of Cureton, and with the results of an investigation of the longer and shorter recensions of the original text. It is a work which appeals particularly to students, but to those who are interested in early Christian literature and history it is simply invaluable. (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung. 1896. 6 marks.)

It is becoming quite the fashion for the papers to publish a series of articles by prominent men dealing with the various phases of a general subject, and afterward to print them in book form. This is the plan followed in the case of *Recent Research in Bible Lands*: its progress and results. The volume contains articles which first appeared in the *Sunday-School Times*, and now they are embodied in more permanent shape in a handsome book of over two hundred and fifty pages. It is illustrated with excellent pictures, which give an added interest to the text. The articles are all by acknowledged authorities, and in order to give an idea of their scope we may be pardoned if we give an abbreviated list of the titles and writers. "Oriental Research and the Bible" is the opening paper from the pen of Professor J. F. McCurdy, the author of one of the latest and best books on biblical history, "Prophecy and the Monuments." Dr. Frederick J. Bliss, who has gained an enviable reputation as an explorer and scholar, writes on "The Mounds of Palestine." Dr. Hilprecht, the editor of the volume, an able Assyriologist, treats of "Explorations in Babylonia." Dr. Sayce, of course, writes on Egypt, and Arabia has been assigned to Professor Fritz Hommel, of Munich. Dr. William Hayes Ward, editor of the *Independent*, one of the earliest and best-informed scholars upon the Hittites, has given the story of this re-discovered people. A higher authority among English-speaking scholars upon "Early Greek Manuscripts from Egypt" than Dr. J. P. Ma-

haffy would be hard to find ; and the reputation of Professor W. M. Ramsay as a student of the geography of Asia Minor only reflects the knowledge which enables him to throw "New Light on the Book of Acts." It only remains to say that the volume is both internally and externally an excellent piece of work, a pleasure to both mind and eye. (Philadelphia : John D. Wattles & Co.)

For the first time in the history of the world the United States presented the spectacle of a Congress of Religions. This was not only a novel feature in intellectual activity, but it was symptomatic of a growth of interest along this line. In the midst of a recent heated ecclesiastical upheaval a keen, philosophical observer remarked that the next serious conflict which the churches would have to face would be waged upon the ground of comparative religion. The interest in this subject is waxing, and as evidence of it we have the first of a series of "American Lectures on the History of Religions." It is entitled *Buddhism : its History and Literature*, and it comes from a master of the subject, T. W. Rhys Davids, LL.D., Ph.D., Professor of Pali and Buddhist Literature at University College, London. It is unnecessary to dwell upon the qualifications of the author and lecturer, and no words of ours would add to his prestige. It may be remarked, however, that one may here become acquainted with the principal facts in regard to Buddhism in comparatively brief shape and at the hands of one well able to instruct. The subjects to which the six lectures are devoted are as follows : Religious Theories in India before Buddhism ; Authorities on which our Knowledge of Buddhism is Based ; Notes on the Life of the Buddha ; The Secret of Buddhism (the Signs, the Path, and the Fetters ; The Wheel of Life and Nirvana) ; and Some Notes on the History of Buddhism. (New York and London : G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1896.)

Mr. Gladstone is a survival from the age of universal genius, the period when a man might know almost all of everything without being denominated a mere smat-

terer. Certainly the man who can write and speak so thoroughly and so eloquently upon so many subjects is a genius if that word means anything at all. His latest book, *Studies Subsidiary to the Works of Bishop Butler*, has seen the light before, in part at least and in slightly different form, but it is a pleasure to have it in revised and compact shape. Not that it is a small book, since it contains well on toward four hundred pages; but it is one that is a worthy tribute to one of the greatest minds which England ever produced. The eulogium of Mr. Gladstone upon him is well deserved, and it is only pity that his style was not as clear as his mind. The modern reader is scared away by the outward form of the garment of his thought, and fails to grasp the delicacy of his touch through lack of appreciation of the difficulties which beset his task. He lived in an age of controversy, when faith seemed imperilled, and by his "Analogy" he closed the controversies that had preceded, answering all opposing arguments and removing the objections that had been urged. The student who is thoroughly acquainted with the literature of the period that preceded him and of that during which he lived can trace the course which he pursued and can account for the apparent deviations of his path. He was like a pilot who guides a ship amid rocks and shoals, and he may be excused if at times his style is indirect and obscure. That he was worthy of the high estimate placed upon him by Mr. Gladstone is beyond doubt, and it is to be hoped that these luminous pages will lead others to a juster estimate of the great bishop. (New York: Macmillan. \$2.00.)

Professor Luther Tracy Townsend, D.D., foresees that his book, *Evolution or Creation*, will not meet the approval of three classes: "the scientist, whose domain we invade," "the socialistic reformer, who discounts all inquiries except those that take into consideration the existing conditions of humanity," and "the speculative theologian, who inclines to the opinion that science should be left to take care of itself," and that

the function of the Church is different. He might have added another class of those who believe that both Bible and nature are from God ; that there is no conflict between them ; that the Bible gives instruction in righteousness ; and that it was not intended to teach science or scientific truth. The whole difficulty lies in a misconception of what the Bible is, and out of this misconception grows a mistaken idea of what is needed to defend it. The author says quite naively that "some of the positions we defend . . . may sooner or later need modification" as a result of fuller scientific investigation. It is, therefore, quite evident that the conflict is one of opinions and interpretations, not of essential facts, and it is a fair question whether the total gain is worth all the pother. "A critical review of the scientific and scriptural theories of creation and certain related subjects" is the sub-title of the present volume, and it is fairly descriptive. The author has read much and widely upon the subject, and has made the most of his reading. He writes with vigor and clearness, and he is possessed of positive convictions. His avowed purpose is to aid "Christian people who are perplexed by certain conclusions reached by many celebrated scientists, by not a few distinguished philosophers, and by some theologians." The object is a worthy one ; the only question is one of method, and we fear that those who are capable of appreciating these difficulties will not be much helped by the book. (New York : F. H. Revell & Co. \$1.25.)

Another volume of "The Modern Reader's Bible," edited by Dr. Richard G. Moulton, Professor of Literature in English in the University of Chicago, calls for notice. It is called *The Judges*, and it contains the biblical books of Joshua, Judges, and a part of Samuel. It is designated as "incidental history," and it portrays "the chosen nation in its efforts toward a secular government." There are three divisions of the history in the present volume : The conquest of Canaan ; the succession of judges ; and the establishment of kings and rise of the prophetic order. We have already

spoken in praise of the general plan of these neat little volumes, and nothing further appears necessary at this time. (New York: Macmillan. 50 cents.)

If one would take a fireside journey to the Flowery Kingdom let *A Cycle of Cathay* be chosen as the guide-book and Dr. W. A. P. Martin as one's cicerone. In this volume is to be found a graphic account of events in that land during the past "cycle" or sixty years; but the author's main purpose has been to give an account of what he himself saw. Consequently these pages are full of incident and anecdote, as well as history. During the larger part of the past half century Dr. Martin has been engaged as missionary, as employee of the Chinese Government, as assistant in the negotiation of treaties between the United States and China, but principally as president of the Imperial Tungwai College. His volume is that of an actor as well as eye-witness, and the story that he has to tell is interesting and instructive from end to end. (F. H. Revell Co. \$2.00.)

The great interest felt in the words and work of *John G. Paton*, the venerable "apostle of the New Hebrides," when he was in this country has not ceased. This is evidenced by the fact that his autobiography has appeared once more in a "new illustrated edition," edited by his brother, James Paton, the two volumes of the original being now bound as one. It is unnecessary to speak of the merits and delights of the book in view of the continued call of purchasers for more copies. Suffice it to say that it is difficult to imagine a more fascinating story of missionary labor and devotion. (New York and Chicago: Fleming H. Revell Co. \$1.50.)

Biographies are always of more or less interest to the friends of those whose life-story is recounted. The wider the acquaintance and influence of a man the wider the interest in the account of his life. Though personally known to a small fraction of those who have known and admired his work, the larger circle will be

glad to know that the widow of *Robert Whitaker McAll* has written and compiled a memoir of her husband, the founder of the McAll Mission in Paris. The portion of his career which will specially interest those to whom his name is familiar comprises the last twenty-two years of his life—that is, from 1871-93. The discouragements and hard work of this period can scarcely be set forth in detail; but the wonderful success which crowned Dr. McAll's untiring efforts may be appreciated by all. It is a grand story, and one which may serve as an inspiration of hope and labor. (New York and Chicago: Fleming H. Revell Co. \$1.50.)

A tremendous array of historical facts will be found set forth in *The Christian Democracy*, by John McDowell Leavitt, D.D., LL.D. The book contains a history of the suppression and revival of what the author denominates as "Christian democracy." Just what is meant by it is not quite plain—at least on the surface—but the reader will find himself led along through a course of history which in the main serves to set forth the changes and corruptions imposed upon Christianity, taking out of it more and more, or more or less the freedom of Christians under the Gospel. The whole closes with a call for reform in the various branches of the Church, the renunciation of erroneous doctrine, and subjection to the Gospel as it is in Christ. (New York: Eaton & Mains. \$1.50.)

An attempt has been made by Robert R. Doherty to write a history of some of the chief periods of the Christian Church under the title of *Torchbearers of Christendom*. It is intended "for young people and for older folks who love the Church but do not know much about it." The subjects treated are "Jesus, the Light of the World," "Paul and the Primitive Church," "Constantine: the Church Controlled by the State," "Gregory the Great and the Early Middle Ages," "Hildebrand: the State Controlled by the Church," "Martin Luther and the Reformation," and "John Wesley and the Modern Evangelical Church." The volume contains less than three hundred duodecimo

pages, and the various sketches are, therefore, cast necessarily in somewhat brief space. The author, however, seems to have appreciated and accomplished his function and task. On p. 81 is a curious mistake, the adjective "Decian" standing in place of the name of the emperor. (New York: Eaton & Mains. 90 cents.)

The first part of a history of the Lutheran Church in America has been issued by E. Bertelsmann, of Gütersloh, Germany. It is by Georg J. Fritschel, and is based upon the recent work of Professor Henry E. Jacobs, D.D. The account is brought down as far as the death of Mühlenthal, and it is illustrated with twenty-five pictures and maps. The introductory portion of the original is briefly treated, but the history proper is a comparatively close rendition of Dr. Jacob's work. (*Geschichte der Lutherischen Kirche in Amerika*.)

One is glad to extend a welcome to such a volume as *The Prophets of the Christian Faith*. It is made up of a dozen papers contributed to the *Outlook* by a number of eminent scholars. The Old and New Testaments, the post-apostolic age, the Reformation and more modern times are represented, and estimates are given of such exponents of the faith as Isaiah, Paul, Clement of Alexandria, Augustine, Wycliffe, Luther, Wesley, Edwards, Bushnell, and Maurice. It is a stimulating and helpful volume, and the last chapter, "Can We be Prophets?" by Dean Farrar, will prove inspiring to readers not a few. (New York: Macmillan. \$1.25.)

The first thing that strikes one upon taking up Dr. S. D. McConnell's latest book, *A Year's Sermons*, is the shortness of them, and the second thing is their pointedness and cogency. The preface explains the former; the man himself the latter. In their present form the sermons were never preached, but were printed in the columns of the *Philadelphia Press* in the attempt to bring to those who read but who do not attend worship in a church some of the lessons of the Gospel

which are profitable for this life and for that which is to come. The spirit is right and the matter is good, but it is to be feared that the "sermons" are apt to do more good in their present than in their original shape. (New York: Thomas Whittaker. \$1.25.)

An admirable result, due to the operation of the Summer School of Theology at Ocean Grove, N. J., during the present year, is to be found in a volume called *Nature and Christ*: a revelation of the unseen. It contains a course of eight lectures delivered by Dr. Joseph Agar Beet, Professor of Systematic Theology at the Wesleyan College, Richmond, England. Dr. Beet is already known on this side of the sea by means of several books on theological themes characterized by evangelical spirit and profound learning. The present volume is necessarily more popular than those that have preceded, being addressed to a more promiscuous gathering, but it is not marked by any lowering of tone or any weakness of mind. The themes discussed are Religion and Theology; The Universal Revelation in Nature; The Historical Revelation in Christ; The Gospel of Pardon; The Superhuman Claims of Christ; The Supernatural Outward Attestations; The Inward Attestation; and The Results Attained. (New York: Eaton & Mains. 75 cents.)

A neat and helpful little book by Floyd W. Tomkins, Jr., of Grace Church, Providence, R. I., is entitled *The Christian Life*: what it is and how to live it. The contents consist of eight papers printed early this year by the author in the *Congregationalist* of Boston. They relate to Life, Responsibility, Prayer, Bible Reading, Church Worship, Christian Fellowship, the Holy Communion, and Joy in the Holy Ghost. The pages breathe a spirit of devotion and devoutness that must be helpful to any receptive reader. (New York: E. P. Dutton & Co. 75 cents.)

A very timely and helpful book is one by the Rev. George W. Shinn, D.D., rector of Grace Church, Newton, Mass. It is called *Some Modern Substitutes for*

Christianity, and it contains "a consideration of the claims of theosophy, Christian science, spiritualism, socialism and agnosticism, and of the reasons for declining to accept any one of these systems as a substitute for Christianity." The book is small and neither is nor pretends to be exhaustive, but it is the author's purpose to meet some of the objections and delusions put forth and fostered by these systems of thought, belief, and practice, while at the same time confirming Christian belief. (New York: Thomas Whittaker. 50 cents.)

The Rev. James Mulchahey, S.T.D., vicar emeritus of St. Paul's Chapel, Trinity Parish, New York, chose an attractive title when he called his latest volume *The Inspiration of History*. At the same time it is a somewhat ambiguous appellation, and we must needs read a long way before finding out whether it is a subjective or objective influence so far as the reader is concerned. The difficulty with the volume is that its plan and progress are not sufficiently plain, and after looking it through one has the unpleasant impression of an indefinite aim which has hit its mark. Much in the book is excellent notwithstanding. (New York: Thomas Whittaker. \$1.00.)

One merit of *Papalism versus Catholic Truth and Right*, by Jesse A. Spencer, S.T.D., late Professor of the Greek Language and Literature in the College of the City of New York, is that it is brief. It is an attempt to deal with the assumption that the Roman Church is "the Catholic Church of God." The author deals pungently with this pretension, and in doing so he brings out forcibly the prominent points at which Roman practice differs from the reformed and also from that of the primitive Church. The whole is intended to enforce the view that Protestants need have no hopes of *union* with Rome, since absolute *submission* is all that can be rendered and the least that is demanded. In regard to political domination by the Roman Church in our country, it is a serious question whether such writers as Dr. Spencer have not taken counsel of

their fears. (New York: Thomas Whittaker. 75 cents.)

Students of early English literature will find matter of interest in *The Epic of the Fall of Man*, which contains a comparative study of the treatment of this subject by Cædmon, Dante, and Milton. The author, S. Humphreys Gurteen, LL.D., is already known by his "Arthurian Epic" and by his "Handbook of Anglo-Saxon Grammar." In the present work he has attempted to investigate a very interesting portion of English poetry, and the introduction of Dante's work is only as a foil for the others, in order that they may be the better understood, appreciated, and judged. The volume contains also an instructive chapter on the study of Anglo-Saxon. (New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons. \$2.00.)

We have received four additional numbers in the series of "Old South Leaflets," bearing on early American history. They represent the history in its sources, and will prove a valuable adjunct to the study of the subject. Their total number now amounts to near fourscore. Those now before us are: "The Bostonian Ebenezer," by Cotton Mather (1698); "Description of the New Netherlands," by Adrian Van der Donck (1655); "Columbus's Memorial to Ferdinand and Isabella" (1494); and "The Battle of Quebec," by Captain John Knox (1757-60). Placed in the hands of the pupil, these little tracts will add to the vividness of the impression and will give greater stimulus to the study of the times to which they relate. (Published by the directors of the Old South Work, Old South Meeting House, Boston. 5 cents each.)

The Rev. John Atkinson, D.D., has earned the gratitude of his denomination and of all those who are interested in early American religious history, for having subjected himself to the labor required to prepare a history of *The Beginning of the Wesleyan Movement in America*, in which he has traced the story of the establishment of Methodism in this country. The period

covered is very brief, but it was full of promise, which has been realized by subsequent history. The material out of which the present volume is made had to be dug out of documents and other original sources at a great expenditure of time and trouble. Upon the completion of the task both author and reader are to be congratulated. (New York : Eaton & Mains. \$3.00.)

"The politics of the past and the present have been and are dominated by the devil. This is not the Divine order, but the fruit of a Satan-contrived, theology-bolstered theory of separation of Church and State, which has led saints to try feebly to people heaven while permitting Satan to annex earth to the pit." To those persons who believe that this world and all that is in it are under the guidance and control of God, this sentiment just quoted will serve as evidence that the author's theology is less strong than his rhetoric. *Better Things for the Sons of God*, by George T. Lemmon, is dedicated to "George D. Heron and John G. Woolley, the twin Baptists who herald the political coming of the King." The rhetoric of the book is perfervid, its imagery prolific and varied, its figures are drawn from widely different sources, and its wealth of adjectives and compounds is simply amazing. It reminds one of a tree with a wealth of leaves and a scarcity of fruit. We confess that the book has not attracted us in the least. (New York : Eaton & Mains. 75 cents.)

It is about seventeen years since the late Dr. John M. Reid, Secretary of the Methodist Foreign Missionary Society, published his history of the work done under its auspices. Since that time the scope and extent of its labors and of its field has materially increased and extended. This growth has called for a new edition and revision of the earlier history, and the work has been done by Dr. J. T. Gracey. It is now extended to three volumes, aggregating a little over fifteen hundred duodecimo pages. The old plates have been utilized for the older portion of the history, with occasional changes where there was need, and

the newer portions are evident through the greater clearness of the print. The interest in the volumes is so self-evident that one needs do little more than call attention to the appearance of a new edition. To members of the Methodist Church they will be of prime interest, of course, but to others also they will come as an encouragement, marking the progress of that kingdom which is to include the whole earth and every creature. (*Missions and Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church.* New York: Eaton & Mains. 3 vols., \$4.00.)

Another missionary book lately published is called *For His Sake*. It consists of letters written to friends at home by Miss Elsie Marshall, who was killed at Hwa-Sang, China, on August 1st, 1895. They all breathe a spirit of utmost devotion and of intense enthusiasm in her chosen and beloved work, and they are suitable for profitable reading at the sessions of ladies' missionary meetings. The pages abound in little pictures of Chinese life and manners that are very interesting, and by judicious selection a number of sessions might be devoted to the subject with great profit. (New York and Chicago: Fleming H. Revell Co. \$1.00.)

It is quite possible and very probable that many persons are deterred from studying the Bible simply because they do not know how. Others have fallen into the mistaken idea that it is enough to study isolated verses and short passages. Of course one would ridicule the lawyer who pursued such methods; but in connection with infinitely higher interests it is continued in vogue. It was to supply persons thus in doubt or ignorance of proper methods of biblical study that Mr. R. A. Torrey, Superintendent of the Chicago Bible Institute, prepared a little work called *How to Study the Bible for Greatest Profit*. He treats of the methods and fundamental conditions of the study which will yield the largest results. His remarks are distinguished by sobriety and good common sense, as well as by practical wisdom. The book is plain and simple, and

it is within the easy comprehension of any reader. It is not to be expected that he has opened a royal road to knowledge, or that the methods suggested are sure to produce results without labor. Gold is sometimes picked up in nuggets, but systematic mining requires time, labor, and skill. So with Bible study: one must be content to labor if one would receive full mintage. To the Sunday-school teacher, the minister and hearer, the practice of the methods here suggested promise rich results. (Revell Co. 50 cents.)

Gospel Pictures and Story Sermons for Children contains six sermons which illustrate a method used by D. W. Whipple to hold the attention of the little ones while presenting sound doctrine. The title describes them. (Revell. 50 cents.)—*Social Meaning of Religious Experiences* contains six lecture-sermons by Rev. George D. Herron, in which he draws lessons from the lives of several biblical characters. These he turns to account in his proclamation of the truth as he conceives it. His denunciations of the Church are sharp—too harsh to do any practical good. (Crowell. 75 cents.)—*Studies in the Acts of the Apostles*, by Dr. B. B. Loomis, contains an outline or skeleton of the Acts, intended to be a guide for its study in schools and colleges. (Eaton & Mains. 40 cents.)—*Lovers Three Thousand Years Ago*, by Rev. T. A. Goodwin, was noticed in these pages some time ago. It is a translation of the Song of Songs thrown into dramatic form. A new edition has appeared in stiff paper covers. (Open Court Publishing Co., Chicago. 15 cents.)—*In His Footsteps*, by William E. McLennan, exhibits the method adopted by the author to interest and hold the attention of the children while learning about Jesus' life and work. It is a combination of travel and biography—a combination that secured the desired result. The sub-title tells the story sufficiently: "A record of travel to and in the land of Christ, with an attempt to mark the Lord's journeyings in chronological order from His birth to His ascension." The book is copiously illustrated, and will interest the children.

(Eaton & Mains. 50 cents, net.)—*Sunset Memories* is an autobiographical sketch of the Rev. Nicholas Vansant, a member of the Newark Conference of the Methodist Church. It contains many facts in the history of that Church in New Jersey during the past half century, and on that account has a value in addition to the personal interest that attaches to such a work. (Eaton & Mains. \$1.00.)—*Studies of the Man Christ Jesus* is a handy little volume by Robert E. Speer, one of the secretaries of the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions. It contains material that has been put to practical tests at Northfield and Keswick, and it is now printed for use in classes, in order that scholars may get new glimpses of that wonderful personality. It is divided as follows: Early Life; Plans and Methods of Work; Some Active and Passive Traits of His Character; The Testimony Borne to Him by the Different Relations into which He Came; Other Extraordinary Characteristics; His Bearing at His Trial and Death; The Significance of the Man Christ Jesus. (Revell Co. 75 cents.)—One who has been privileged to see strange sights is always pardoned for telling the story of them to his friends, and even for writing a book. This is the case with Mr. Lee S. Smith, of Pittsburgh, who has related the tale of his journeyings *Through Egypt to Palestine*. It is a readable story, and it is illustrated with a number of full-page pictures made from photographs which he took himself. Some of these are very fine, and they do much to enhance the value of the book. (Revell Co. \$1.25.)—*Asa of Bethlehem and his Household* is a story of the time of Christ, told by Mary Elizabeth Jennings. It is somewhat after the pattern of "Titus" and of Mrs. Houghton's "Antipas." (New York: Randolph & Co. \$1.25.)—*The Happy Life* is the title of the sixth edition of "Hints to Converts; or, the Happy Life Begun," by Rev. Alfred T. Scott. The continued call for the book is evidence of its usefulness and value. (New York: Eaton & Mains. 25 cents, net.)—*Temptation*: a talk to young men, by James Stalker, D.D., and *The Dew of thy Youth*, an address

to young people of the Society of Christian Endeavor, by J. R. Miller, D.D., are recent issues of the Popular Vellum Series published by the Revell Co. (each 20 cents).—*Through Fire and Flood* is a little volume of sermons by Rev. F. B. Meyer, whose central thought is that men are placed in the world by God, and that each is intrusted with a work for Him. With his well-known power he deduces helpful lessons from the texts chosen for his subjects, and this volume will serve to encourage many a faint-hearted, timid, or self-distrustful reader. (F. H. Revell Co. 50 cents.)—*The Creed and the Prayer* contains an exposition of the Apostles' Creed and of the Lord's Prayer by Dr. J. Wesley Johnston, which was originally given in a series of Sunday night sermons. The fact that they were thus delivered does not add to the probability that they will prove to be a permanent contribution to the subject, but there is good reason to see why they proved of interest to popular audiences and awakened the attention of those who heard them. (New York: Eaton & Mains. \$1.20.)—*Seed Thoughts for Mothers* is a very attractive little volume containing selections from a large number of writers, on various topics related to childhood and the care of the highest interests of child life. It is arranged for the days of the year, and is a compilation by the late Mrs. Minnie E. Paull, who long since won a reputation by means of her taste and pen. (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell & Co.)—*The Story of a Busy Life*, edited by Dr. J. R. Miller, is a collection of recollections of Mrs. Paull, the compiler of the foregoing volume. It is a book of no small interest, and it portrays a life of energy and devotion. Many a young girl may gain profit and inspiration from a perusal of its pages. (Same publisher.)—*Thirty Studies in the Gospel by John* is an outline course on the Fourth Gospel based upon the English version. The author, Professor W. W. White, Ph.D., of the Bible Institute, Chicago, brings out some of the striking features of the Gospel very plainly, and his work will doubtless find appreciative users. It is a sort of digest of the ac-

count as given by John, and it is calculated to give a more vivid impression of the teaching of John than one is apt to get by a mere cursory reading. (New York and Chicago: F. H. Revell Co. 50 cents.)—From the Fleming H. Revell Company we have *Dwell Deep*, a story of a Christian girl who successfully persevered in spite of drawbacks and discouragements (75 cents); *Probable Sons*, a child's rendering of "prodigal" sons, by the same author, is a tender little story of the good done by a little child (50 cents); and *The Making of a Hero* and other stories by the late Mrs. George A. Paul (50 cents).—From Thomas Y. Crowell & Company there have come three very neat and practical booklets with suggestive titles: *The Golden Rule in Business*, by Charles F. Dole; *Paths of Duty*, counsels to young men, by Dean F. W. Farrar; and *After College, What?* for girls, by Helen Ekin Starrett (each 35 cents).

SUBJECT INDEX TO THEOLOGICAL PERIODICALS.

ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THIS RECORD.

Af. M. E. R.	African M. E. Church Review. (Quarterly.)	Meth. R. So.	Methodist Review, South. (Quarterly.)
Am. Cath. Q. R.	American Catholic Quarterly Review.	Miss. H.	Missionary Herald.
Bapt. Q.	Baptist Quarterly Review.	Miss. R.	Missionary Review.
Bib. Sac.	Bibliotheca Sacra. (Quarterly.)	New Chr. Q.	New Christian Quarterly.
Bib. W.	Biblical World.	New W.	The New World. (Quarterly.)
Can. M. R.	Canadian Methodist Review. (Bi-monthly.)	Our D.	Our Day.
Char. R.	Charities Review.	Prot. Ep. R.	Protestant Episc. Review.
Chr. L.	Christian Literature.	Pre. M.	Preacher's Magazine.
Church Q. R.	Church Quarterly Review.	Presb. Q.	Presbyterian Quarterly.
Ex.	Expositor.	Presb. Ref. R.	Presbyterian and Reformed Review. (Quarterly.)
Ex. T.	Expository Times.	Ref. Q.	Reformed Quarterly Review.
Hom. R.	Homiletic Review.	Sunday M.	Sunday Magazine.
Luth. C. R.	Lutheran Church Review.	Treas.	The Treasury.
Luth. Q.	Lutheran Quarterly.	Yale R.	The Yale Review. (Quarterly.)
Meth. R.	Methodist Review. (Bi-monthly.)		

Unless otherwise specified, all references are to the November number of periodicals.

Abraham, Place of, in religious history. (R. W. Dale) Ex.

American Board, Annual survey of work of the. (J. Smith and J. L. Barton) Miss. H.

- American Christianity.** (L. W. Bacon) Chr.L.
Anglican orders, Bull of Pope Leo XIII. on. Am.Cath.Q.R. (Oct.).
Anglican orders, Pope on. Chr.L.
Apologetics, Present-day. (F. F. Ellinwood) Hom.R.
Armenia, Gladstone on. Miss.R.
Astruc, Jean. (A. R. S. Kennedy) ExT.
Augustine and the Pelagian controversy. (B. B. Warfield) Chr.L.
Balfour's Philosophy. (St. G. Mivart) Am.Cath.Q.R. (Oct.).
Biography, On the ethics of suppression. (E. S. Purcell) Chr.L.
Buddha, Teaching of : is it the teaching of Christ? (D. Gilmore) Chr.L.
China, Foreign community life in. (R. L. McNabb) Miss.R.
Christ, Conception of, suggested to a heathen inquirer by Paul's earliest extant writing : a study of 1 Thessalonians. (E. Medley) Ex.
Christ, Foreshadowings of the. (G. S. Goodspeed) Bib.W.
Christmas, Ananias of Shirak upon. (F. C. Conybeare) Ex.
Church attendance, Symposium on. Hom.R.
Civilization, Forces of : whence are they? (J. R. Allen) Meth.R.So.
Clovis, Baptism of. (Dr. Jessopp) Chr.L.
Constantinople massacre. Chr.L.
Cornaro, Helena : a daughter of the doges. (A. S. Bailey) Am.Cath.Q.R. (Oct.).
Daily bread. (M. G. Pearse) Pre.M.
Diocesan missions. (N. P. Dame) Prot.Ep.R. (Oct.).
Divine providence. (J. Mudge) Meth.R.So.
Dodge, William E. (A. T. Pierson) Miss.R.
"Double for all her sins :" a critical exposition. (J. Thomas) Ex.
Education problem, Salisbury government and the. (J. J. O'Shea) Am.Cath.Q.R. (Oct.).
England, Invasion of, by William, Duke of Normandy, Events and causes which led to the. (M. Hennessy) Am.Cath.Q.R. (Oct.).
Evangelization, Place of the school in the work of. (J. M. Kyle) Miss.R.
Genesis, Archæological commentary on. (A. H. Sayce) Ex.T.
Gladstone on Armenia. Miss.R.
Hamlin, Cyrus. (E. Barrass) Meth.R.So.
Hermion. (W. Wright) Ex.
History, secular, Old Testament emphasis on. (J. F. McCurdy) Hom.R.
Holmes's Life and Letters. (J. F. Spalding) Am.Cath.Q.R. (Oct.).
Homiletics viewed as rhetoric. (A. Pollok) Hom.R.
Incarnation : a study of Philippians II. 5-11. (E. H. Gifford) Chr.L.
Isaiah 52 : 13-53, Is the modern critical theory of the servant in, subversive of its New Testament application to Christ? (S. I. Curtiss) Bib.W.
Islam : a sketch with bibliography. (T. W. Davies) Bib.W.
Japan mission and its problems. (J. L. Barton) Miss.H.
Jesuits and new France in the seventeenth century. (F. W. Grey) Am.Cath.Q.R. (Oct.).
London, Conversion of. (A. M. Grange) Am.Cath.Q.R. (Oct.).
Mark vii. 33. Study in. (B. Whitefoord) Ex.

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- Missions**, Diocesan. (N. P. Dame) Prot.Ep.R. (Oct.).
Missions, Special obligation of American Christians to. (J. A. Anderson) Meth.R.So.
Music, church, What constitutes good. (T. W. Surette) Prot.Ep.R. (Oct.).
New England in the South : George Denison Prentice. (G. F. Mellen) Meth.R.So.
No backward step. (C. H. Daniels) Miss.H.
Old Testament prophecy, Outline topics in the history of. (W. R. Harper) Bib.W.
Packard, Joseph : recollections of a long life. Prot.Ep.R. (Oct.).
Paul, Saint, Back to. (J. S. Banks) Ex.T.
Paul as preacher. (W. C. Wilkinson) Hom.R.
Pelagian controversy, Augustine and the. (B. B. Warfield) Chr.L.
Pope Leo XIII. on Anglican orders, Bull of. Am.Cath.Q.R. (Oct.).
Pope on Anglican orders. Chr.L.
Preaching of to-day. Chr.L.
Prentice, George Denison. (G. F. Mellen) Meth.R.So.
Prophecy, Old Testament, Outline topics in the history of. (W. R. Harper) Bib.W.
Reunion, corporate, Fiction of. (A. F. Marshall) Am.Cath.Q.R. (Oct.).
Rome in America. (Roman Catholic priest) Chr.L.
Russian Stundists. (G. Godet) Miss.R.
Sacrifice, Unscriptural expiatory. (B. Pick) Hom.R.
Salmond, Stewart D. F. (A. B. Bruce) Bib.W.
Sanctity in the church, Attribute and note of. (A. F. Hewit) Am.Cath.Q.R. (Oct.).
School, Place of the, in the work of evangelization. (J. M. Kyle) Miss.R.
Scientific chronicle. (T. J. A. Freeman) Am.Cath.Q.R. (Oct.).
Secular history, Old Testament emphasis on. (J. F. McCurdy) Hom.R.
Senses, Our : how we use them, and what they tell us. (J. J. Tigert) Meth.R.So.
Sermons, How men get their. (J. Edwards) Pre.M.
Son of man. (H. Burton) Ex.
Song of Songs. (A. Crawford) Prot.Ep.R. (Oct.).
Sparrow, Dr., Theology of. (R. A. Gibson) Prot Ep.R. (Oct.).
Stundists, Russian. (G. Godet) Miss.R.
Summer, Gospel of the. (W. L. Watkinson) Pre.M.
Thanks, Perpetual. (A. M. Hellier) Pre.M.
Thanksgiving, Story of. (W. Hoyt) Pre.M.
Turkey, Crisis in. (J. Smith) Miss.H.
Utah, Six years in. (D. D. Leonard) Miss.R.
Vaughan, Cardinal, on the Pope's bull. Chr.L.
Vergil's pre-eminence among the Christian fathers and in the mediæval church. (E. W. Bowen) Meth.R.So.
Wheeler, Crosby H. Miss.H.
White's, (Professor) call to India. (J. M. Gray) Miss.R.
Woman, Educated, of to-day : her opportunities and her limitations. (O. P. Fitzgerald) Meth.R.So.

CONTENTS OF RELIGIOUS PERIODICALS.

American Catholic Quarterly Review.

Philadelphia, October, 1896.
 Salisbury government and the education problem.
 Doctor Holmes's life and letters.
 Attribute and note of sanctity in the church.
 Jesuits and new France in the seventeenth century.
 Balfour's Philosophy.
 Fiction of corporate reunion.
 Daughter of the Doges.
 Events and causes which led to the invasion of England by William, Duke of Normandy.
 Bull of Pope Leo XIII. on Anglican orders.
 Conversion of London.
 Scientific Chronicle.

Biblical World.

Chicago, November, 1896.
 Islam : a sketch with bibliography.
 Steward D. F. Salmond.
 Is the modern critical theory of the servant in Isaiah 52 : 13-53 subversive of its New Testament application to Christ?
 Outline topics in the history of Old Testament prophecy.
 Foreshadowings of the Christ.

Christian Literature.

New York, November, 1896.
 Augustine and the Pelagian controversy.
 Baptism of Clovis.
 Incarnation : a study of Philipians II. 5-11.
 On the ethics of suppression in biography.
 Constantinople massacre.
 Cardinal Vaughan on the Pope's bull.
 Pope on Anglican orders.
 Rome in America.
 Teaching of Buddha : is it the teaching of Christ?
 Preaching of to-day.
 American Christianity.

The Expositor.

London, November, 1896.
 Ananias of Shirak upon Christ-mas.
 Place of Abraham in religious history.
 Hermon.
 Conception of Christ suggested to a heathen inquirer by Paul's earliest extant writing : a study of 1 Thessalonians.
 "Double for all her sins : " a critical exposition.
 Aside from the multitude : a study in St. Mark vii. 33.
 Son of Man.

Expository Times.

Edinburgh, November, 1896.
 Back to St. Paul.
 Jean Astruc.
 Archæological commentary on Genesis.

The Homiletic Review.

New York, November, 1896.
 Apostle Paul as preacher.
 Homiletics viewed as rhetoric.
 Present-day apologetics.
 An unscriptural expiatory sacrifice.
 Old Testament emphasis on secular history.
 Symposium on church attendance.

The Methodist Review.

Nashville, November-December, 1896.
 New England in the South.
 George Denison Prentice.
 Educated woman of to-day.
 Forces of civilization : whence are they?
 Divine Providence.
 Special obligation of American Christians to missions.
 Virgil's pre-eminence among the Christian fathers and in the

medieval church: a study in the Sixth Æneid.
Cyrus Hamlin.

Our senses: how we use them, and what they tell us.

The Missionary Herald.

Boston, November, 1896.

Crosby H. Wheeler.

Crisis in Turkey.

No backward step.

Japan mission and its problems.

Annual survey of the work of the American Board.

Missionary Review.

New York, November, 1896.

William E. Dodge.

Six years in Utah.

Foreign community life in China.

Russian Stundists.

Place of the school in the work of evangelization.

Professor White's call to India.

Mr. Gladstone on Armenia.

Protestant Episcopal Review.

Theological Seminary, Virginia,
October, 1896.

Recollections of a long life.

What constitutes good church music?

Theology of Dr. Sparrow.

Song of Songs.

Diocesan missions.

Preacher's Magazine.

New York, November, 1896.

Gospel of the summer.

Daily bread.

How men get their sermons.

Story of Thanksgiving.

Perpetual thanks.

MAGAZINES.

THE CONTENTS OF THE ATLANTIC for December are: "Social Classes in the Republic," E. L. Godkin; "Classical Studies in America,"

B. L. Gildersleeve; "Professor Child," George Lyman Kittredge; "The Art of Public Improvement," Mary Caroline Robbins; "Landscapes with Figures" ("Angelus" — "The Grave" — "A Young Father"), J. K. Paulding; "Cheerful Yesterdays. II. A Child of the College," Thomas Wentworth Higginson; "William Morris: the Man and his Work," William Sharp; "The Last of the First," A. M. Ewell; "A Colony of the Unemployed," Josiah Flynt; "The Juggler. II., III.," Charles Egbert Craddock; "Thoreau," Bradford Torrey; "A Living God," Lafcadio Hearn; "Sir George Tressady;" Comment on New Books; The Contributors' Club.

THE CONTENTS OF THE CENTURY for December are: "Study for the Head of Christ," frontispiece; "A Group of American Girls Early in the Century," Helen Evertson Smith; "One of the Twelve. A Christmas Carol by Roumanille," Edith M. Thomas; "A Rose of Yesterday. II.," F. Marion Crawford; "Distances," Florence D. Snelling; "Hugh Wynne, Free Quaker. II.," S. Weir Mitchell; "A Painter of Motherhood; Virginie Demont-Breton," Lee Bacon; "Campaigning with Grant. II.," Horace Porter; with pictures by Charles Stanley Reinhart; "Souvenirs of a Veteran Collector: Samuel P. Avery," William A. Coffin; "Sleep and Grief," Charles Buxton Going; "Light in Dark Places. A Study of the Better New York," Jacob A. Riis; "Breaking His Own Will," Elizabeth Eggleston Seelye; "The Blind Girl. A Christmas Carol by Roumanille," Margaret Vandegrift; "Charity" (American Artists Series), painted by Walter Gay; "In Bethlehem of Judea," Richard Watson Gilder;

"The Christmas Kalends of Provence," Thomas A. Janvier; "Doubt," R.; "One Man Who Was Content," Mrs. Schuyler Van Rensselaer; "Abashed," Clifford Westmore Lake; "Them Old Cheery Words," James Whitcomb Riley; "For Value Received," Margaret Collier Graham; "The Blossom of the Soul," Robert Underwood Johnson; "Our Great Pacific Commonwealth. A Study of Ultimate California," William E. Smythe; "What Language did Christ Speak?" Agnes Smith Lewis; with an introduction by William Hayes Ward.

THE CONTENTS OF HARPER'S MAGAZINE for December are: "Joseph asking Shelter for Mary," frontispiece; "Christmas Carol" (a poem), Nina Frances Layard; "A Middle-English Nativity," John Corbin; "The Romance of an Ambrotype" (a story), Howard Pyle; "White Man's Africa" (Part II., President Kruger), Poultney Bigelow; "Cages and Songs" (a poem), R. H. Stoddard; "The Martian" (a novel, Part III.), George Du Maurier; "How the Law got into the Chaparral," Frederic Remington; "The Hundred" (a story), Gertrude Hall; "The Defeat of Amos Wickliff" (a story), Octave Thanet; "Wild Ducks and Tame Decoys," Hamblen Sears; "Weeds" (a story), Ruth McEnery Stuart; "Oliver Wendell Holmes," William Dean Howells; "Sunday Sam's Statute of Limitations" (a story), Henry Gallup Paine; "Electricity direct from Coal," Dr. William W. Jacques; "Clavis" (a story), Annie Trumbull Slosson; Editor's Study, Charles Dudley Warner; Editor's Drawer.

LIPPINCOTT'S for December contains: "The Chase of an Heir-

ess," Christian Reid; "Shutting Out the Sea," George Ethelbert Walsh; "Two Old Boys," Pauline Shackelford Colyar; "An Open Secret" (couplet), Emma C. Dowd; "The Land of Taffy," D. C. Macdonald; "Thanksgiving" (poem), Grace F. Penny-packer; "An Old Virginia Fox-Hunt," David Bruce Fitzgerald; "The Whipping of Uncle Henry," Will N. Harben; "Fame" (poem), Elizabeth Crooks; "Flirtation as a Fine Art," Jean Wright; "Beyond" (poem), Arthur D. F. Randolph; "Our First Silver-Mine," George J. Varney; "The Evolution of the Poster," Agnes Carr Sage; "How Timmy Saved the Piece," Livingston B. Morse.

SCRIBNER'S MONTHLY for December contains: "Autumn Leaves," painted by Sir John Millais (frontispiece); "Sir John Millais, Bart., P.R.A.," Cosmo Monkhouse; "The Phantom Governess," T. R. Sullivan; "The Magic Ring," Kenneth Grahame; "The Last Ride Together," Richard Harding Davis; "A Practical Reformation," James Barnes; "Little Pharisees in Fiction," Agnes Repplier; "There is such Love," Martha Gilbert Dickinson; "A Law-Latin Love Story," F. J. Stimson; "Stevenson's Birthday," Katherine Miller; "A Magic Gift," H. C. Bunner; "Flower o' the World," Nathaniel Stephenson; "Sleep," Arthur Willis Colton; "The Lonely Man," J. West Roosevelt, M.D.; "The Sanctuary Lamp," Julia C. R. Dorr; "The Square Diamond," Clinton Ross; "Songs for Two," Arthur Shelburne Hardy; "The Drouth at San Anton," William Henry Shelton; "Mont Saint Michel," Julia Larned; "Mary," Mrs. Schuyler Van Rensselaer.

LITERARY NOTES.

AMONG the announcements of the Cambridge University Press for the season 1896-97 are the following: "An Introduction to the Greek Old Testament." For the use of students. By the Rev. H. B. Swete, D.D., Regius Professor of Divinity. "The Curetonian Syriac Gospels." Re-edited, together with the readings of the Sinaitic Codex and a translation into English. By F. C. Burkitt, M.A., of Trinity College. "The Syriac Version of the Ecclesiastical History of Eusebius." Edited by William Wright, LL.D., late Professor of Arabic in the University of Cambridge, and N. M'Lean, M.A., Fellow of Christ's College. "The Domesday Book and Beyond." Essays in Early English History. By Professor F. W. Maitland. "Catalogue of the Greek Manuscripts on Mount Athos." Edited by Spyr. P. Lambros, Professor of History in the University of Athens, Vol. II. "Thomas Arnold." His Life at Rugby and Contributions to Education. Edited by J. J. Findlay, M.A., Principal of the College of Preceptors' Training College.

Le Chrétien Evangélique has an article on Dr. Barnardo and his work. The facts seem to be chiefly taken from a recent number of the *Review of Reviews*. The English correspondent of the same paper remarks on the announcement that Mr. Crockett, Ian Maclaren, and Hall Caine are engaged on *Lives of Christ*. "Ian Maclaren is a minister and even a D.D., but his reputation as a theologian is still to be made, while his fame as a genial humorist is secure. We on the Continent have had experience both of the advantages and disadvantages of these *Lives of Christ*

written, conceived, and arranged by imaginative writers."

MRS. AGNES SMITH LEWIS has written for the Christmas number of *The Century* a paper entitled "What Language did Christ Speak?" She brings many arguments to prove that Christ spoke the Aramaic tongue, which was not, as once popularly supposed, a corrupt form of Hebrew, but a language as regularly formed, and with a grammar as distinct, as either Hebrew or Arabic. Mrs. Lewis bases some of her conclusions on the priceless manuscripts in the Convent of St. Katherine on Mount Sinai, with which she is probably more familiar than is any other European scholar. It was at this convent that Mrs. Lewis made one of the greatest biblical discoveries of the century. Under a late and worthless monkish biography she found the faded letters of an ancient Syriac text of the four Gospels. She took four hundred photographs of the manuscript, which proved to be a peculiar and very old version of the Gospels of extraordinary interest.

The Bookman states that the anonymous work, entitled "The English Church and the Romish Schism," recently issued by Messrs. William Blackwood & Sons, is from the pen of Dr. Momerie, formerly professor at King's College, and preacher at the Foundling Hospital.

"It is, perhaps, not generally known," says the *Westminster Gazette*, "that the late Archbishop left in the Press an important work on St. Cyprian, which was the *magnum opus* of his life. Its publication has been repeatedly delayed by the more pressing claims of his office; but the proof-sheets had been corrected and the preface written

before he started for Ireland, and the book is expected to appear in the course of the autumn. It is stated that this will be the first considerable contribution to theological study from the pen of an Archbishop of Canterbury since the time of Archbishop Laud."

MESSRS. ISBISTER & Co. have published "The Life of Archbishop Magee," by the Rev. Canon J. C. MacDonnell. Canon MacDonnell was favored with the confidence of the late archbishop, and many of the extremely interesting letters in the Life were addressed to him. The correspondence is everywhere marked by the strong personality of Archbishop Magee, and is sure to excite widespread interest and comment.

THE plates, stock, and publication rights of the authorized editions of the Andrew Murray books, formerly controlled by the late firm of Anson D. F. Randolph & Co., have been transferred to the Fleming H. Revell Company, to whom all orders should be sent. The author receives a royalty for all copies of these editions sold, and when added to the copyright editions of some of Mr. Murray's later books already on the Revell list,

they constitute the only complete and fully authorized edition on the market. The Revell Company are now also the authorized publishers of the well-known "Biblical Illustrator Series" and "Men of the Bible Series." The editor, the Rev. James S. Exell, who is widely experienced in this line of work, has, in the preparation of the series, enlisted the services of some of the best-known religious writers of recent times, and the works have been everywhere recognized as thoroughly reliable. The "Biblical Illustrator" volumes, now numbering twenty-eight, will be increased this season by the addition of two volumes on the Epistles of St. Peter and three on the Epistles of St. John; and next year by volumes on Jude and Revelation.

MESSRS. T. & T. CLARK announce the following among others: "A Concordance to the Greek Testament." Edited by W. F. Moulton, D.D. (editor of the English edition of Winer's Grammar) and A. S. Geden, M.A., Professor of Exegesis, Wesleyan Theological College, Richmond. "The Hope of Israel; a Review of the Argument from Prophecy." By the Rev. F. H. Woods, B.D., late Fellow of St. John's College, Oxford.

CHRONICLE, OBITUARY, AND CALENDAR.

COMPILED BY PROFESSOR GEORGE W. GILMORE, A.M.

CHRONICLE.

(Closes on the 10th.)

Sept. 28.—Meeting of the *Moravian Unity's Elders' Conference*. *Bishop Henry Mueller* resigned as president, *Dr. Theodore Baur* was elected to suc-

ceed him, and the *Rev. Otto Uttendorfer* was elected vice-president. *The Rev. Hermann Otto Padel* was ordained a bishop.

- Sept. 28-30.—Meetings of the *Welsh Inter-Collegiate Christian Conference* at Aberystwyth, Wales.
- Sept. 29-Oct. 2.—*Irish National Convention of Christian Endeavor*, at Belfast.
- Oct. 9-13.—Autumn Meetings of the *Baptist Union of Great Britain and Ireland*, at Bristol.
- Oct. 11.—Meeting of the *International Missionary Alliance*, in New York City.
- Oct. 12-15.—Seventh English *National Protestant Congress*, in London, Eng.
- October 14-16.—Fourteenth Annual *Indian Conference*, at Lake Mohonk.
- Oct. 14-18.—Eleventh Annual Convention of the *Brotherhood of St. Andrew*, in Pittsburgh.
- Oct. 15.—Annual Meeting of the *Pennsylvania German Historical Society*, in Philadelphia.
- Oct. 20.—Meeting of the *Protestant Episcopal House of Bishops*, in New York City.
- Oct. 20-21.—Convention of the *Open and Institutional Church League*, Hartford, Conn.
- Oct. 20-22.—One Hundred and Fiftieth Anniversary of the *College of New Jersey*.
- Oct. 20-23.—Fiftieth Anniversary of the *American Missionary Association*, in Boston.
- Oct. 21.—Sixteenth Council of the New York and Philadelphia Synod, *Reformed Episcopal*, in Philadelphia.
- Oct. 22.—Annual Meeting of the *Roman Catholic Archbishops*, in Washington.
- Oct. 27.—Meeting of the *Metho-
dist Episcopal Missionary Council*, in Cincinnati.
- Oct. 27-29.—Thirty-first Provincial Council of the *Sunday-School Association*, in London, Ont.
- Annual Meeting of the *Protestant Episcopal Missionary Council*, in Cincinnati.
- Oct. 28.—Annual Meeting of the *Congregational Woman's Home Missionary Association*, in Boston.
- Nov. 4-6.—Fourth Annual Convention of the *Order of the Daughters of the King*, in Philadelphia.
- Nov. 5-11.—International Convention of *Christian Workers*, at Louisville, Ky.

The following are the officers elected at the recent meeting of the *Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions*: President, Richard S. Storrs, D.D., LL.D.; Vice-President, E. W. Blatchford; members of the Prudential Committee for three years, C. Henry Whitcomb, James G. Vose, D. D., Hon. Henry D. Hyde, J. M. W. Hall; for two years, in place of Nehemiah Boynton, D.D., resigned, William H. Davis, D.D.; Secretaries for Correspondence, Judson Smith, D.D., Charles H. Daniels, D.D., James L. Barton, D.D.; Editorial Secretary, E. E. Strong, D.D.; Recording Secretary, Henry A. Stimson, D.D.; Assistant Recording Secretary, Edward H. Packard, D.D.; Treasurer, Frank H. Wiggin; Auditors, Samuel Johnson, E. H. Baker, and E. R. Brown.

EPISCOPALIAN.

The Rt. Hon. and Rt. Rev. *Fredrick Temple*, Bishop of London, has been translated to the *See of Canterbury*, to succeed the late Archbishop Benson. Dr. Temple was made Bishop of Exeter in 1869, and was translated to London in 1885.

Professor Creighton, of Cambridge, has been made *Bishop of London*, to succeed Bishop Temple, translated to Canterbury.

The long-delayed restoration of the *Tinnevelly Bishopric* is at length to be completed, by the consecration on October 28 of the *Rev. S. Morley*.

Dr. Walker, Missionary Bishop to North Dakota, has been elected *Bishop of Western New York*, to succeed the late Bishop Cox.

The *Rev. John D. Morrison, D.D.*, of Ogdensburg, N. Y., has been elected Missionary Bishop of the newly formed diocese of *Duluth*.

Bishop Labrecque, of Chicoutimi, Canada, is on a visit to Rome for the purpose of obtaining the extension to Canada of the powers of the *Apostolical Delegate in the United States*.

EDUCATIONAL—COLLEGES.

The following elections to the heads of colleges have recently taken place: *President George T. Winston*, of the University of North Carolina, to the *University of Texas*; the *Rev. William R. King*, to *Henry Kendall College*; *Dr. Eli McClish*, to the *University of the Pacific*; *President Frank Pierpont Graves*, of Tufts College, to the *University of Wyoming*; *A. Y.*

Yoder, of Irvington, to *Vincennes University*; the *Rev. Professor George H. S. Walpole*, of the General Theological Seminary, New York City, to *Bede Training College*, Durham, Eng.; the *Rev. A. C. McKenzie, D.D.*, to *Elmira College*, N. Y. The cornerstone of the College of History of the American University, Washington, D. C., was laid on Oct. 21.

THEOLOGICAL SEMINARIES.

Mr. C. C. Stearns has been appointed Carew Lecturer at *Hartford Seminary*, in place of Professor Walker.

It is expected that the *Rev. Pro-*

fessor George H. S. Walpole, of the General Theological Seminary, New York, will resign his chair to go to Durham, Eng.

OBITUARY.

Benson, Rt. Hon. and Most Rev. *Edward White* (Anglican), *D.D.* (Cambridge, 1867), Archbishop of Canterbury and Primate of all England and Metropolitan, at Hawarden, Eng., October 11, aged 67. Dr. Ben-

son was born near Birmingham, Eng.; was graduated from Trinity College, Cambridge, *B.A.*, 1852, *M.A.*, 1855, *B.D.*, 1862; received honorary *D.C.L.*, Oxford, 1884; ordained deacon, 1853, priest, 1857;

was fellow of Trinity College, and senior chancellor medallist; was assistant-master at Rugby, 1853-59; first headmaster of Wellington College, 1859-72; examining chaplain to the Bishop of Lincoln, 1869; prebendary of Heydour with Walton in Lincoln Cathedral, 1869-72; chancellor and canon residentiary of Lincoln, 1872-77; select preacher at Cambridge, 1864, 1871, 1875, 1876, 1879, 1882, and at Oxford, 1875-76; honorary chaplain to the Queen, 1873, and chaplain in ordinary, 1875-77; was consecrated first bishop of Truro, 1877; while there he set on foot plans for a cathedral for the diocese, and in 1887 was present at the consecration of the first portion of the building; he was transferred to the archiepiscopal see of Canterbury, and enthroned, 1883. The great event in his occupation of the chair at Canterbury was the trial of the Bishop of Lincoln, the prosecution of whom was due to the Church Association, for acts of ritualism. The bishop was acquitted on the ground that great latitude is permissible in the Anglican Church. Dr. Benson published, among other works, "Boy Life" (1874); "The Cathedral, its Necessary Place in the Work and Life of the Church" (1879); "The Seven Gifts" (1885); "Christ and His Time" (1889); "Living Theology" (1891); "Fishers of Men" (1893). He had in press at the time of his death what he regarded as his greatest work, a book on Cyprian, which is soon to appear.

Hulburd, Rev. Merritt (Methodist Episcopal), *S.T.D.* (University of City of New York), in Baltimore, October 10, aged 54. He was born in Monkton,

Vt.; received his education at the Poultney, Vt., and Fort Edward, N. Y., schools; he entered the ministerial field at Shushan, N. Y., 1862; removed to Sandy Hill, 1863; his subsequent appointments were: 1866, North Troy, N. Y.; 1867, Vail Avenue, Troy, N. Y.; 1868-69, Congress Street, Troy, N. Y.; 1870-72, Hudson Street, Albany, N. Y.; 1873-75, Trinity, Springfield, Mass.; 1876, State Street, Springfield, Mass.; 1877-78, St. Paul's, Lowell, Mass.; 1879, supernumerary of Minnesota Conference; 1880-82, Burlington, Vt.; 1883, Bennington, Vt.; 1884-85, Washington Square, New York; 1886-88, Trinity, New York; 1889-93, Spring Garden Street, Philadelphia; 1894-96, Grace, Wilmington, Del. Dr. Hulburd served his denomination in a large way: he took part in several General Conferences; was a member of the Committee on Episcopacy, also of the General Committee of Church Extension, and of the General Missionary Committee. He was especially noted for his fervid pulpit oratory.

Quint, Rev. Alonzo Hall (Congregationalist), *D.D.* (Dartmouth, 1866), in Boston, November 4, aged 68. He was graduated from Dartmouth College, 1846, and from Andover Theological Seminary, 1852; became pastor of Mather Church, Jamaica Plain, 1853; removed to the charge of the New Bedford Church, 1864, having been, meanwhile, chaplain of the Second Massachusetts Infantry, 1861-64; he left New Bedford, 1875; took his last pastoral charge, that of Allston, 1886, leaving it in 1890; he had, however, in the inter-

val served in the New Hampshire Legislature, 1881-83. Dr. Quint's services to his denomination were very numerous: he was secretary of the Massachusetts Association, 1856-81; Moderator of the same, 1865 and 1882; secretary of the National Council of Congregational Churches, 1871-83; Moderator of the Council, 1892-95; editor of the *Congregational Quarterly*, 1859-76; he was a member of the committee to call the convention which formed the National Council, chairman of the committee which drafted its constitution, presided at the council at Oberlin, 1871, edited the *Congregational Year-Book* for many years. Dr. Quint served also on the Massachusetts Board of Education, and was the author of several works on the conduct of the war of the Rebellion.

Seaman, Rev. S. A. (Methodist Episcopal), in New York City, October 22, aged 78. The record of his service is as follows: 1842, Wethersfield Circuit; 1843, Harlem; 1844, Yorkville; 1845-46, Twenty-fourth Street, New York; 1847, Windsor; 1848-49, Bridgehampton; 1850-51, Southold and Cutchogue; 1852-53, Carlton Avenue, Brooklyn; 1854, Jamaica; 1855-56, West Winsted; 1857-58, Southport; 1859-60, Stratford; 1861-62, Mount Vernon; 1863-65, Twenty-seventh Street, New York; 1866-68, New Rochelle; 1869, Astoria; 1870-72, Embury, Brooklyn; 1873-75, Bay Ridge and Unionville; 1876, East Chester; 1877-79, New Bridge and Seaford; 1880-82, Stratford; 1883-84, White-stone; 1885-96, superannuated. Mr. Seaman was known as one of the antiquarians of the Methodist Church.

Weddell, Rev. A. J. (Lutheran), *D.D.* (Wittenberg College), in Philadelphia, September 14, aged 75. Dr. Weddell was born near Frederick, Md.; he was graduated from Pennsylvania College, 1842; studied theology privately for a year; was licensed to preach, 1843, taking service at the Canton Chapel, Baltimore; removed the same year to Ohio, receiving ordination in 1845; his work period in that State covered twelve years, the last parish there to have his services being Springfield, in the church connected with Wittenberg College, to which he went in 1854; accepted a call to the English Lutheran Church of Cumberland, Md., 1857; became pastor of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of the Trinity, Philadelphia, 1868; retired from active service, 1887.

Wheeler, Rev. Crosby Howard (Congregationalist), *D.D.*, at Auburndale, Mass., October 11, aged 74. Dr. Wheeler was born in Hampden, Me.; was graduated from Bowdoin College, 1847, and Bangor Theological Seminary, 1852; between his college and seminary courses he taught school for three years at Litchfield; was ordained pastor at Warren, Me., 1852; accepted service under the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions in 1857, going to Harpoot, Turkey; there he passed the remainder of his life, with the exception of a brief period of rest, till he returned this year; he was the founder of Armenia (Euphrates) College, Harpoot, and its first president, from 1878; he was present at Harpoot during the massacre last November, and at that time his house was burned. The affection felt for

him by Armenians is exhibited in the following letter, written just before his death by the Conference of Armenian Ministers in the United States :

"We, the eight Armenian ministers of the Gospel, graduates of Euphrates College, laboring among our countrymen in various cities in Massachusetts and Rhode Island, convened at a ministers' meeting at 3 Allston Street, Boston, do hereby express our heartfelt gratitude to you, who have been the cause and the means of our mental and moral education. Your memory will be everlasting with us. We hope you will live in and through us. Yours was a life of self-denial and patient diligence. The world has been blessed by your life and work. God grant that our country may secure the desired freedom, so we may go back and continue the work which you began and continued so nobly, and which is now in such a sad condition."

He is the author of "Ten Years on the Euphrates," "Letters from Eden," "Odds and Ends, or Gleanings from Missionary Life," and of several other books, some of them text-books for Euphrates College.

Adams, Rev. Harvey (Congregational), *D.D.* (Iowa College), in New Hampton, Ia., September 23, aged 87.

Blaisdell, Rev. Professor Joshua James (Presbyterian), at Beloit College, October 10.

Bridgman, Rev. Henry Martyn (Congregational), missionary in Natal, in Umzumbe, Natal, August 29, aged 66.

Cazenove, Rev. John Gibson (Anglican), *D.D.* (Oxford, Eng.), at Edinburgh, September 30.

Colver, Rev. Charles Kendrick (Baptist), in Chicago, October 24, aged 75.

Emery, Rev. Joseph (Baptist), in Philadelphia (?), September 11, aged 79.

Gibbs, Rev. B. Barzillai (Baptist), in New York City, October 7, aged 75.

Gutch, Rev. Charles (Anglican), *B.D.* (Cambridge), in London, October 1.

McAnney, Rev. Charles H. (Methodist Episcopal), in Mt. Kisco, N. Y., October 6, aged 39.

Manley, Rev. W. E. (Universalist), *D.D.*, in Denver, Col., September 28, aged 84.

Marling, Rev. A. W. (Presbyterian), missionary in the Gaboon, Africa, October 12.

Moore, Rev. William Shotwell (Dutch Reformed), in Unionville, N. Y., September 26, aged 83.

Parry, Rev. Edward St. John (Anglican), at Godring Ferry, Eng., September 12.

Purdy, Rev. Andrew (Methodist Episcopal), *D.D.*, in Corning, N. Y., October 7, aged 54.

Reed, Rev. N. A. (Baptist), *D.D.*, in Minneapolis, October 22, aged 81.

Stufft, Rev. David (Lutheran), at Scalp Level, Pa., October 11, aged 68.

Van Der Veen, Rev. Christian (Dutch Reformed), *D.D.*, of Grand Rapids, Mich., October 17.

Wilson, Rev. Franklin (Baptist), *D.D.*, in Baltimore, Md., October 14, aged 74.

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*A Monthly Review of
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NEW YORK

DECEMBER, 1896.

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cover printed in colors represents a farm-yard with a pretty girl surrounded by all kinds of poultry.

AMONG the subjects discussed at the English Church Congress held in Shrewsbury, in October, were: "The Causes of Intemperance and Possible Remedies: In the Individual, in Social Conditions, and in the Organization of the Drink Traffic." "The Continuity of the Church of England: 1. An Historical Fact. 2. Not Broken by: (a) Any Political Action under Henry VIII., Edward VI., or Elizabeth. (b) Any Doctrinal or Disciplinary Changes." "The Supplementary Ministries of the Church of England for Home Mission Work." "The Part of the Laity in the Government and Administration of the Affairs of the Church: In the Province, in the Diocese, and in the Parish." "Foreign Missions: (a) The Necessity of Stirring the Heart and Conscience of the Church to Greater Earnestness in Foreign Missionary Work. (b) Need of a 'Foreign Service Order' for Insuring an Adequate Supply of Men for the Colonies and Mission Field." "Tendencies in Modern Society which Need to be Considered in the Light of Christian Teaching: (a) Social Extravagance. (b) Current Literature, Society Papers, Novels, etc. (c) Amusements and Recreations." "International Relations in the Light of the Gospel."—*St. Andrew's Cross.*

PRESIDENT HARPER of the University of Chicago says that four years of experimenting with voluntary attendance at religious services had prepared him to admit that the success of the experiment had not been great.—*New York Evening Post.*